Vol. 685 v

v. 6. 5. Mahon.

Thomas Willis

Ex libris.

T. G. S. Mahon.

The chief writers were, Sir Hercules Lan-
-grishe, Mr. Grattan, (then a young
barrister not in parliament), and Mr.
Flood.

See the appendix inserted
at end

Scarce

10/6

C4085

fidèle à jamais
pour

In Coelum jusseris ibit

And bid him go to Hell, to Hell he goes

BARATARIANA.

A

SELECT COLLECTION

OF FUGITIVE

POLITICAL PIECES,

Published during the

ADMINISTRATION

OF

LORD TOWNSHEND

IN IRELAND.

Præsenti tibi maturos largimur honores.

HOR.

THE THIRD EDITION, CORRECTED AND ENLARGED.

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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

LORD VISCOUNT TOWNSHEND.

MY LORD,

THE following papers ſhould be dedicated to you, for you are the ſubject of them. Had they been barren of literary merit, they had not been much attended to; had they poſſeſſed literary merit alone, they had not been attended to, long. No, my Lord, they had ſomething more; they had truth; and appealed to a nation, who in theſe eſſays recognized its own idea, reflected with additional luſtre. They ſpoke with a warmth, expreſſive of great feelings, greatly agitated,

upon great occaſion.—If they deſcended to your *train*, it was, becauſe your train were your miniſters. If they glanced at your private life, it was becauſe the levity of your private life entered into your publick conduct, and became the character of your government.—They ſpoke with moderation in the fervour of the times; and now, that the war, which your adminiſtration waged with the publick, is at an end, and every thing reſpecting your perſon buried in compaſſion, and contempt,—theſe papers, upon conſtitutional principles, make a ſober appeal to the judgment of the people; and are preſented, not as ſatire, but hiſtory.

THE liberty of the preſs (it were vain to deny it) has advanced to great maturity, under the preſent reign. Its progreſs is eaſily accounted for.——During the life of the late Monarch, the preſs ſpoke the language of *inſinuation*. His Majeſty, a plain, honeſt gentleman, of the houſe of Hanover, was not likely to deſerve, or to puniſh, or indeed to underſtand, libels. There was no *myſterious attachment* in *his* family, an alluſion to which ould never be forgiven. *His* court was not

always

always without ſome claim to principle, and did not advance extravagant pretenſions to devotion—pretenſions, ſuſpicious to the ſimplicity of the Engliſh, not yet accuſtomed to the novelty of a puritanical piety, ſelecting, for its ſupport, men of the moſt diſſolute morals.

WHEN his preſent Majeſty aſcended the throne, the firſt acts of his reign generated libellers. His meaſures gave matter, and perſecution gave boldneſs, to compoſition——The hand of power touched the preſs, and, like the porcupine, it ſtarted into a thouſand ſhafts.——A perſon, not in himſelf perhaps the moſt reſpectable, attacked the *Favourite* with vigour; to depreſs that perſon, the Court violated the Conſtitution, and he roſe proportionally in the eſtimation of the people.——The perſecution of Government hurt the temper, and its proſtitution impaired the delicacy of the preſs. The uſurpations of prerogative were *expedients* at firſt, and became *principle* afterwards; in the ſame manner, corruption, the occaſional practice of foregoing reigns, became the eſtabliſhed maxim of the

preſent. The Preſs varied with the vices it was to correct; and unable to reform, endeavoured to brand and terrify, a ſhameleſs adminiſtration.

THE venality of parliament aided this progreſs.——When the houſe of Commons was honeſt, it ſpoke for the people, and the people, relying on that reſource, were ſilent. But when Parliament became the echo of Adminiſtration, the conſtitutional utterance of popular ſentiments being impeded, the people were obliged to ſpeak for themſelves; and their feelings burſt forth, as it were, in exploſion. And indeed, ſince Impeachment has died out of the conſtitution, ſince national juſtice is only adminiſtered by the cenſorial power of the publick, the exerciſe of this power is become eſſential; and uncommon cenſure is the neceſſary conſequence of uncommon profligacy.

IN this kingdom, my Lord, from the time of your arrival in it, you were contented to degrade yourſelf below the condition, I will not ſay of a Viceroy, but of a gentleman, and

to

to become the miſerable inſtrument of Engliſh tyranny. Through you, the little miniſter of the day, whoever he happened to be, *played* upon our Conſtitution; and unfortunately, the engine that he uſed, was directed, not to allay, but to inflame. Meaſures, differing indeed from thoſe purſued in Great Britain, becauſe adapted to another meridian, but equally oppreſſive, practiſed againſt a country already ſufficiently oppreſſed—a determined perſeverance in doctrines, as arbitrary and unconſtitutional as any of the *Mansfield-code*, touching the vitals of the ſtate, and tending to deprive the Repreſentatives of the people of their moſt eſſential, and incommunicable rights——the ſame undue influence, exerted on a *complying* Houſe of Commons—and the ſame declared hoſtility againſt every man who did but aſſume the name of a friend to his country—theſe cauſes, I ſay, my Lord, all concurred to produce the ſame effects here, that a ſimilar ſyſtem had before produced in England; they excited, in every honeſt breaſt, the ſame freedom of thinking and writing, the ſame ſpirit of

candid repreſentation, and vigorous remonſtrance, on the part of the people.

HERE, too, the productions of the preſs were incited by a circumſtance which did not exiſt in England;—the unexampled intemperance of publications on the part of the Court. A paper, ſupported, my Lord, by your authority, perhaps occaſionally ſupplied by your labours, went beyond the reſerve of ordinary libellers, and reproached the delicacy of the North Briton.—*Mr. Wagſtaffe's Eſſays*, diſtinguiſhed for carrying *perſonal invective* into unuſual exceſs, are ſtill more remarkable for directing that invective againſt *principle* itſelf. It was not the falſe pretender to patriotiſm, it was the name of patriot, and the virtues of patriotiſm, which were inſulted. Finding it vain to wage war againſt truth and conviction, againſt the wiſhes and the ſenſe of the nation, finding integrity in its own form invulnerable, and ſophiſtry ineffectual, what was to be done? The domeſtick arrangements, and the ſocial affections of your opponents were viewed in

the

the inverted glaſs of Diſtortion, and imputed to them as crimes. In vain did the modeſty of private life imagine itſelf ſecure. It's œconomy was burleſqued, it's ſplendour was derided; it's taſte, it's friendſhip's, it's moſt amiable charities, it's fineſt feelings, whatever had dignity enough to be ſuſceptible of violation,—all were outraged, ridiculed, and diſtorted. It ſeemed as if every ſpecies of virtue was to be deſtroyed, before your Lordſhip could be defended——The *ſtyle*, too, of thoſe eſſays, diſtinguiſhes them; it is too light for conviction. The cauſe of truth is ſeldom ſupported by farcical compoſitions, and by that more than Gallick gayety, with which the courtier ſings *Te Deum* on the defeats of the conſtitution.

When Shaftſbury wiſhed to attack truth, and religion, he made ridicule the teſt of both. But a Hooker and a Locke defended them by other arms—The writers of '*The Mercury*' ſpeak to the nation on it's moſt eſſential intereſts, in the frolickſome petulance with which

one ſlave might ſalute his fellow.——Without any of the genius, they have all the vice, of their great exemplar.

THE following papers will reach you, my Lord, in another country.—They will contribute to amuſe thoſe leiſure moments, when you reflect on tranſactions that muſt once have agitated your boſom. They will recall thoſe motley times, of embarraſſed indolence—of broken councils—of ſordid ſociety—when buſineſs waited, while Dennis jeſted, and Cunningham adviſed. You will look back to the ſea, on which you once were toſſed, and feel a joy to be on ſhore, though naked, *and without a friend*. In thoſe moments of reflection and of *ſafety*, you will recollect, that you have introduced into this country a long train of miſchiefs;—that you have left a name, as little to be forgotten, as it can be beloved;—that the men, who oppoſed you, were not your enemies, nor the men, who ſupported you, your friends;—that your largeſſes were rejected by the ſpirit of indignant poverty *; that your fa-

* See the Appendix No V.

vours,

vours, when they were received, were written in the ſandy memory of diſguſted hirelings, but your injuries engraven on the marble of the Conſtitution.—Softened and ſtung by theſe conſiderations, you will lament the time, when you were called *from the ranks to which you belong*, —and from the ludicrous ſingularity of your genius, tranſplanted to a ſtation, where honours did not grow around you, and where, of all whom you have ſerved, and of all whom you have injured, your adverſaries are thoſe alone of whom you cannot complain.

PRE-

DEDICATION

PREFACE.

IN the following work, our purpoſe has been, to collect all the pieces of merit, which were written on the part of the people, during the late ruinous adminiſtration of Lord Townſhend; and to reſcue them from the periſhable form, in which they were originally publiſhed.—They are not, like the letters of Junius, all the productions of the ſame hand. In ſo large, and miſcellaneous a collection, ſome *inequality* will neceſſarily be found; but we have been ſtudious not to admit any piece without a *conſiderable* ſhare of merit, leſt, by a baſer mixture, we ſhould have diminiſhed the value of thoſe compoſitions, which the publick favour has already declared ſterling, and conſidered as the beſt political papers that have yet appeared in this country.

THE

The Editor is induced to offer them to the the publick, not as member of any party, but as an admirer of fine writing, which they exhibit; and as a lover of liberty, which they aſſert.——They are arranged in the order in which they were publiſhed; and though the ſix letters *from an inhabitant in Barataria to his friend in Penſylvania*, which ſtand *foremoſt* in this collection, bear certain marks of capacity, and good ſenſe, yet the ſubſequent publications clearly ſhew, that a ſucceſſion of injuries will ſharpen the talents, enlarge the genius, and improve the productions, of a free, and ſpirited people.—The Letters of *Sindercombe*, *Fabricius*, *Hortenſius*, *Poſthumous*, *Pericles*, and *Paſcal*, with the favourite *Hiſtory of Barataria*,—will always be objects of admiration, in Iriſh politicks.

It has been the cuſtom of all nations to raiſe publick monuments in commemoration of publick characters. This kingdom and America have already immortalized the name of Pitt, and erected ſtatues of their great Champion, and Protector. They thought, that they could

could not be too laviſh in beſtowing honours on him, whom they eſteemed the greateſt ſtateſman, and the moſt virtuous ſenator, that theſe latter ages have produced;—a man of ſingular abilities, and inflexible integrity;—endued with the moſt various and ſplendid talents;—of a daring, ſagacious, and comprehenſive mind;—who in the moſt arduous undertakings could foreſee, and ſurmount, every difficulty;—quick to conceive, and prompt to execute, the boldeſt deſigns, and the moſt glorious enterprizes;—in himſelf, at once a cabinet, and an army——the counſel, and the ſword of a nation.*

AMIDST theſe various, but not exaggerated praiſes, candour obliges us to acknowledge, that one heavy charge has been alledged againſt him;——that, with all his ſagacity, he could not diſcern, in *General* Townſhend,

* In p. 263 the reader will find the character of this great ſtateſman more fully delineated by the pen of a celebrated hiſtorian.

any

any of thoſe great and good qualities, which, for theſe five years paſt, we have been aſſured from the beſt authority,—*himſelf, or his military amanuenſis*—were ſo eminently conſpicuous in the *Lord Lieutenant of Ireland*—— and that the blindneſs of Mr. Pitt, in this reſpect, was ſtill farther aggravated by his placing a young Iriſhman, in command, over him, at Quebec. The guilt of this imputation, indeed, this great miniſter ſhares, in common with about five million of people; for the inhabitants of this kingdom and America, have not been more diſcerning than he; from whatever cauſe it has ariſen, they have not yet been able to *find out the merits* of Lord Townſhend; nor have they, if we are rightly informed, yet dedicated a temple, or allotted a ſingle niche in any of their publick edifices, to the redoubted *Vice-conqueror of Quebec*, and *Governor of Ireland*.

The people, on the day of his abdicating the government, did indeed elevate his effigy; —but it was on a *gibbet*;—and in a few hours afterwards

afterwards, that no memorial might remain to remind them of him who had awakened all their ſenſibility, they hurled it down, and committed it to the flames.—Until therefore he ſhall meet with *due* honours, and with *that elevation* which he has merited, we hope he will be contented with this *ſmall trophy*, which we have, ſomewhat officiouſly indeed, raiſed to his fame.

THE former editions of this work having been ſold in a ſhort time, we have endeavoured to render this new edition more worthy of the publick regard, by correcting the errors of the former impreſſions, and inſerting ſome letters which were before inadvertently omitted. The Dedication, and the character of Sancho, are now firſt publiſhed—We have likewiſe given a print of the Privy Council of Barataria, of which the deſign and the execution will, it is hoped, be found equally happy. At the end, it has been thought proper to add, in an Appendix, the moſt material proteſts of the Houſe of Lords during the adminiſtration of Lord Townſhend,

Townſhend, which, it is imagined, may throw a light on ſome paſſages in theſe letters. And laſtly, for the ſake of thoſe who may happen to live at a diſtance from the Capital, we have given a complete key to the Hiſtory of Barataria.

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6. Key to the Hiſtory of Barataria.

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FUGITIVE

POLITICAL PIECES, &c.

LETTER I.

FROM A NATIVE OF BARATARIA, TO HIS FRIEND IN PENSYLVANIA.

Sed cum res hominum tanta caligine volvi
Adſpicerem, illoſque diu florere nocentes,
Vexarique pios, rurſus labefacta cadebat
Religio; Cauſæ viam non ſponte ſequabar
Alterius, vacuo quæ currere ſemina motu
Affirmat, magnumque novas per inane figuras
Fortuna, non arte regi; quæ numina ſenſu
Ambigua, vel nulla putat, vel neſcia noſtri.
Abſtulit hunc tandem Rufini *pæna tumultum*
Abſolvitque Deos. Jam non ad culmina rerum
Injuſtos creviſſe queror: tolluntur in altum
Ut lapſu graviore ruant. CLAUDIAN.

MY DEAR FRIEND, *Jan.* 16, 1768.

I RECEIVED your anxious letter by the laſt packet, and the ſubject of it has given me occaſion of ſome ſerious and melancholy reflection. We have both of us read far enough

in hiſtory, to be ſufficiently alarmed at the meaſures you have ſo accurately pointed out; philoſophy tells us that like cauſes muſt ever produce ſimilar effects; and the ſame arts, which may be capable of deſtroying our liberties, muſt certainly operate more ſtrongly againſt yours; as our rulers will gain an additional ſtrength by our defeat. For it is the property of ſlaves to communicate ſlavery, as it is of vice or diſtemper to ſpread contagion. The wretched are apt to flatter themſelves, that they leſſen their own portion of miſery by ſharing it among numbers, and priſoners are always welcome to a gaol, or the galleys.

You are, happily, at too great a diſtance from miniſterial tyranny, to fall an immediate ſacrifice to the politics of deſpotiſm; therefore the eſſay has been commenced nearer home. We have been treated of late, not as the children, but the baſtards of our mother country; and all our expectations of an equal diſtribution of inheritance are conſidered, not as claims of right, but as pretences of contumacy, and preſumption. Your circumſtances and ours then, being exactly the ſame, the difference of our ſituations can poſſibly gain you but the poor reſpite of Ulyſſes's petition to Polyphemus, of being devoured the laſt.

There is one particular, in the caſe of our iſland, that appears to be moſt ſingular and extraordinary. Rome, Athens, Carthage, and all the recorded ſtates of the world, have riſen by degrees to fame, to grandeur, to opulence, to ſome reſpect in the political ſcale of nations, before their declenſion;

declenſion; and then "*Obruti pondere ſuo*," they have been over-run by aliens and barbarians. While the poor and inſignificant Baratarians have never yet been ſuffered to riſe into any manner of notice, either in politicks or trade, and are now likely, after a ſuperannuated infancy, to be overlaid in the cradle, by parents, foſterers, and brethren. This will furniſh a new phœnomenon in hiſtory, and peculiar to our country.

And yet, were we to judge merely from men, and not by meaſures, one might not be apt to ſuſpect, or dread any great or dangerous event being brought about by the chief actors in our political theatre, the principal performers of which I ſhall give you a ſketch of, in the manner of the old drama, by adding characters to names.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

Sancho, our Chief Governor.

A plump man, with a merry, round, unſtudious-looking countenance; a jovial companion, of great feſtive mirth, preferring even the latter end of a feaſt, to any part of a fray. A perſon who cannot arrive at the heroic virtues, ſhould always affect the ſocial ones. It is ſaid, indeed, that he is apt to quarrel in his liquor, but that is eaſily corrected. One perfectly regardleſs of pomp, dignity, or parade, going about ſcattering his proverbs to common paſſengers, as he walks the ſtreets. It has been whiſpered, in-

deed, that he is a perſon of great *deſign*, but then I have been told that his execution is rather with the pencil, than the pen.

WHAT merry duke or dutcheſs made him a governor in a frolic, I cannot ſay, for I hear that it was not at firſt ſeriouſly intended. If Charles II. of facetious memory, was now monarch of theſe realms, it might perhaps be accounted for more ways than one; as Sancho's attachment to the Stuart line is ſufficiently known; but his preſent majeſty, God bleſs him, I hear, is no joker.

HE was forced abroad once as ſquire to a certain Don Quixote in arms, who led him often into ſo much trouble and peril, in queſt of fame, conqueſt, honour, and ſuch other romantic notions, that it is generally believed, had that ſame knight-errant but lived to the end of his laſt glorious campaign, the ſquire would have begged his diſcharge, and have quitted the ſervice. And this appears to be pretty plain from his conduct immediately after the knight's death; for his experience in chivalry had given our poor Sancho ſo cordial an affection for peace, that he heartily concurred and aſſiſted in every meaſure requiſite to bring one about, thinking it not too dearly purchaſed at the expence of fame, conqueſt, honour, and ſuch other romantic notions.

HE was ſent over to us, without any powers to do us good; and ſuch a perſon, one ſhould imagine, might have it in his power to do us much miſchief. But we muſt wait the further unfolding

of

of ſchemes and meaſures now commencing; for talents ſome times grow with office, as was manifeſt in the elder Sancho.

Caledon, principal ſecretary to Sancho.

A NORTH Briton, and a clandeſtine negociator in politics; without fortune, intereſt, or connection, in Barataria; a perſon of no diſtinction, but what he poorly borrows from his family, his office, or the patronage of the Northern Thane, whoſe clients and emiſſaries both he and Sancho are notoriouſly known to be.

COLONEL *Promiſe*, lieutenant governor and captain of the band of penſioners in Barataria.

THIS perſon's real name has been ſwallowed up in that appellation, time out of mind. For his eaſy temper and great good-nature lead him into more promiſes than he is able to fulfil, and he is often cenſured for breach of faith by thoſe, who are apt to miſtake the unguarded flowings of his good will for the ſtudied art of a courtier.

WHOEVER ſuſpects him of ſuch deliberate inſincerity, wrongs him two ways. He is doubly unqualified for a *Machiavel*. His heart I think is good, but both his contrivance and execution bad —— very bad. I am perſuaded, therefore, that, whenever the colonel acts wrong, he may be conſidered rather as the tool of another's art, than the dupe of his own intrigue. His aim is popularity, and when this is purſued as an end, not a means, it is ſurely

the nobleſt ambition,—*Suavis victoria amor populi*, —as it can be gained but by virtue, and maintained only by principle.

He is at preſent conſidered as a probationer, by his country; as he has lately concurred in propoſing ſome beneficial laws to our ſupreme rulers, as a bill for limiting the duration of our ſenates, &c. which *looks* well; and has alſo been a founder of a ſociety in this metropolis ſtiled the Conſtitution Club, which *ſounds* well.

Serjeant *Rufinus*.

This Autochthon, or ſon of the earth, according to a Greek phraſe for a new man whoſe *unde derivatur* is unknown, is ſtiled the Monopoliſt, from having appropriated to himſelf and his family the poſſeſſion of ſome, and the reverſion of others, the moſt honourable and lucrative employments in this iſland of Barataria.

He roſe ſuddenly by oppoſing, indiſcriminately, every meaſure of miniſtry in our ſenate; which occaſioned one of our ſupine governors ſo much trouble, that he thought his private peace worth purchaſing—at the expence of the publick. A member of the great council in our mother country had ſtruck his fortune at a heat, ſome time before, by one harangue, and was thence ſtiled Single-Speech-Hamilton. Our *Terræ filius* had not indeed ſuch quick ſucceſs, but as he happened to compaſs his ends in the ſpace of one ſeſſion only, he has ever ſince been cognomened Single-Seſſion-Rufin.

When

When the people had thus loſt a factious tribune, it was thought the miniſtry had gained an able conſul; but his natural forwardneſs precipitates him often into meaſures before they have been well formed or digeſted in the cabinet; which affords the few friends of Barataria an opportunity of ſtanding ſometimes on their guard, and preparing for our defence. So that by too much officiouſneſs to make amends for having put a drag upon the wheels of government once in his life, he has been over oiling them ever ſince, until they begin to clog again.

When Plebeians happen to become Patricians, neither the people nor the ſtate are ever well ſupported by them. They are apt to eſtrange themſelves too much from the claſs they have ſprung from; and that liberality of ſoul, that generoſity of ſentiment, that noble ardor of principle, which dignifies and diſtinguiſhes the higher ranks of mankind, are rarely to be met with in primæval meanneſs. A perſon under ſuch a deſcription is what the ingenuous doctor South ſtiled a ſcum in politics, at once the baſeſt, and the uppermoſt part. My grand-father, for I had one, uſed to give me this advice in my youth.——"In every walk of life, beware of "the dunghill."

I have only given you here a few of the characters in our theatrical piece, and thoſe only ſlightly touched; being in haſte to enter upon the general action of the political drama. The other perſons of this repreſentation I ſhall occaſionally deſcribe, as they may hereafter unfold themſelves, during the

continuance of the performance. But, as theſe are principal conductors, or, to carry on the alluſion, the chief Managers of our ſcenes, I thought that a true idea of them might ſufficiently evince the propoſition I advanced juſt before I entered upon the dramatis perſonæ, namely, that the men, and the parts caſt for them, appear to be not in the leaſt proportionate to one another.

NOR aſſuredly could they ever prove to be ſo, if there were the ſame unanimity for the public good, as it is too frequently inſtanced in combinations for a publick injury. Virtue is ſeldom ſo active as vice; immediate objects impreſs themſelves more ſtrongly upon our ſenſes than diſtant ones. Free-Booters receive a preſent emolument from the plunder of a nation, and the defenders of it perceive only a remote advantage in the publick welfare.

BESIDES, who are the true friends to the conſtitution of our iſland? Alas! few in number, and fewer ſtill in powers and activity for its ſervice. An uſeful patriot ſhould be endowed with ſenſe and ſpirit both; for zeal without knowledge may do us more harm than good, and the reverſe of the character can do us no good at all.

THERE are, I confeſs, ſome ſhining lights among us, but no conducting ſtar.—The champions of Barataria have not yet entered into union, or aſſociation together.—When fame is the object, rivalſhip too frequently ariſes; and when many men would be leaders, the followers will be divided into too many parties to do ſervice.

IT

IT is full time, now, that an unity ſhould prevail, and a preference be admitted; and then an intire confidence and concurrence, as requiſite in the council, as the field, ought to be acquieſced in; for thoſe, who are leaſt capable of thinking, are moſt apt to think for themſelves; and there are, to uſe Bacon's words, "who know not manacles from "Bracelets, nor burthens from robes."

WITHOUT ſuch a dependence and unanimity as this, one man may exert himſelf on a queſtion of but ſmall importance to-day, and neglect perhaps another of the utmoſt conſequence to-morrow.

BUT ſhould ſuch a concord as this, ſo devoutly to be wiſhed for, as it is moſt critically neceſſary at this time, be once eſtabliſhed among the friends of liberty in this iſland, the murmurs of a people under ſuch a conduct, would make the oppreſſors tremble under the ſhelter of a throne; and a nation can never be enſlaved, without its own conſent: for death or freedom will ever be the generous alternative of the brave. I call not for the ſword, but for the ſhield.

BY the next packet, that deſcends to your world, I ſhall furniſh you with a particular detail of the chains that appear to be forging for your country, and which are firſt to be fitted on the Baratarians. In the mean time, farewel, and believe me to be,

DEAR ANTIPODE,
your ſincere, and
affectionate friend,
and kinſman,
PHILADELPHUS.

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Dear Antipode,
your ſincere, and
affectionate friend,
and kinſman,
Philadelphus.

LETTER II.

FROM A NATIVE OF BARATARIA, TO HIS FRIEND IN PENSYLVANIA.

Surgit ad hos clypei dominus ſeptemplicis Ajax.

MY DEAR FRIEND, *Jan.* 19, 1768.

I SIT down now, to perform the promiſe I made you in my laſt letter of giving you an account of the arbitrary meaſures, which have for ſome years paſt been purſued againſt this devoted land, by the emiſſaries ſent over here by the rulers of our parent country, with the connivance or concurrence of ſome of our own parricides aſſociated with them.

BUT as my too credulous countrymen are too much lulled at preſent by the fond, but vain perſuaſion, of obtaining ſoon a law that may obviate, or prevent ſome, or moſt of the evils we have already had ſufficient experience to apprehend, I think it will be proper, firſt to give you my opinion of the improbability of ſuch an expectation, before I proceed to point out thoſe grievances which it is meant to remedy, or oppoſe.

THE law I allude to, is one that I juſt hinted at in my laſt letter, for limiting, as it is ſtiled, the duration of our ſenate to the term of ſeven years; commonly called the Septennial Bill. This favourite idea was firſt conceived at the expiration of the laſt

ſenate,

ſenate, which terminated on the demiſe of his late majeſty. It took it's riſe among the conſtituents of many counties and boroughs in this iſland, who having long groaned under the weight and oppreſſion of two Life-Senates, (their very conſtituency being frequently aſſumed by the repreſentatives themſelves, *miraturque novas frondes, & non ſua poma)* laid hold of this opportunity, of recommending to their new repreſentatives ſome relief of this kind.

A BILL to this purpoſe was accordingly preferred to our ſenate, the firſt ſeſſion, by the famous Pedro Pezzio, one of our moſt eminent patriots and phyſicians, which received the approbation and co-operation of our governour at that time, and was tranſmitted to the great rulers of our mother-country in due form.—But never returned to us again.

THIS diſappointment, however, did not diſcourage the generous ſentiments of our active patriots; for the next ſeſſion they attempted the ſame meaſure a ſecond time, which alſo paſſed through all the requiſite forms on our part, was likewiſe countenanced by our ſucceeding governour, tranſmitted as before, and met with the ſame fate, already related.

NOTWITHSTANDING this our ſecond defeat, the ſpirited Tribunes of the people abated nothing of their former ardour; endeavouring ſtill to obtain a law ſo beneficial to the public, even at their own manifeſt hazard and diſadvantage; preferring the general good of the nation to their own intereſt and emolument. Theſe perſons reſolutely purſued the ſame plan in the next ſeſſion, and with more proba-

ble

ble appearance of ſucceſs too, than they had had upon the two former experiments; as our then governor * was poſſeſſed of large fortune, intereſt and connection here, and gave us every aſſurance in his power of aſſiſting the bill; his eldeſt ſon was principal ſecretary at that time, and voted for it; and his brother was then one of the firſt ſecretaries, in our mother-country. Yet, notwithſtanding all theſe flattering auſpices, our hopes failed us again, a third time.

AFTER ſuch reiterated diſcomfitures, leſs indefatigable patriots would have deſpaired of being ever able to have compaſſed their point; but the reſolution, the perſeverance, of theſe guardians of our liberties was not to be conquered, and they have again, for the fourth time, attempted this favourite queſtion. It was voted, and ſent over this winter, along with the uſual bill of ſupplies; it was the ſame that has been preferred ſo often before, and the propoſition ſo ſhort and ſimple, that the miniſtry on the other ſide could not require a moment's leiſure to conſider the nature of it: yet, the other Bill has long ſince returned alone, nor have we ever received any manner of anſwer about it, but what is evaſive or ambiguous.

AFTER having been thrice defeated in the ſame unvaried attempt, and notwithſtanding the encouragement and aſſurances of ſupport from three ſucceſſive governours, what hope can our moſt ſanguine wiſhes frame upon the preſent criſis? When neither the

* Lord Hertford.

the warm Sancho, nor the cold Caledon, have ever yet afforded us the leaſt favourable hint with regard to it, the latter even retiring from the ſenate houſe when the queſtion came to be propoſed upon this ſubject.

WHAT judgment then are we to frame in ſuch a caſe? Does our mother-country, like a partial ſtep-dame, regard us as aliens to her family, and think it too much preſumption in us to challenge the ſame portion of freedom that her other children enjoy at preſent, under a law of the like nature among themſelves.

OR are we to conclude, as the more probable ſuggeſtion, that ſome of the leading perſons among ourſelves contrive conſtantly, through their influence on the other ſide of the water, to uſe means to counteract a meaſure, that might interfere with their own private intereſts here, and with which nothing but their being awed into it by the loudneſs of the publick voice, has hitherto induced them to join in an inſincere, and diſingenuous concurrence before the world? And what an inſidious manner of dealing is this, between the prince and people? To arrogate to themſelves all the popularity of the requeſt, and caſt upon his majeſty and his miniſters, all the obloquy and odium of the refuſal.

AND what has afforded ſome face of plauſibility to this latter ſurmiſe is, that when the bill was ſigned in the council, by way of recommending it, as is the uſual method of tranſmitting all bills, colonel Promiſe, who, as it is whiſpered, happened to be led

thither

thither by mere chance, was the only perſon of that houſe, in which the bill had taken its riſe, that ſubſcribed his name to it.

Such a lukewarm zeal as this, I muſt confeſs, has but a very unpromiſing appearance; as it is notoriouſly known, that in every meaſure wherein that perſon intereſts himſelf, for his own emolument, or advantage, it is always ſufficiently attended to inſure ſucceſs. And could he not have prevailed upon any one of his numerous Band of penſioners to take a pen in hand, upon ſuch an occaſion as this?

However, I only repeat the notions of other people in this matter; for, as I have in my former letter conſidered the colonel as a probationer for the favourable opinion of the public, I ſhall ſuſpend any manner of cenſure, myſelf, on his character, until we ſhall have advanced ſomewhat farther toward the denouement of our political drama.

But it was plain from the opening of this very ſeſſion, that our expectation in this particular was not meant to be complied with. An expreſſion indeed that had fallen from the facetious Sancho, ſoon after he had entered upon his office, had given us ſome glimmering hope about it, for a time; "that "he had ſomething to propoſe to our ſenate, which "he believed would be perfectly grateful to the "people of Barataria." The betts ran high upon this hint.—It muſt be ſome one or other of the points we had before declared an earneſt deſire for; the Septennial, or the Militia bill, at leaſt. But, alas! it happened to be neither of theſe. We might,

truly,

truly, alter the tenure of our Judges places, from *durante bene placito*, to *quam diu bene ſe geſſerint*.

THIS was, really, a matter of very little conſequence to us, ſince the Revolution. The influence of the crown over the courts of law, can never be now ſo ſtrong, as the right of impeachment by the ſenate. Since the miniſtry were ſo graciouſly pleaſed to confer a favour on us, why was it not accorded to us in our own way? They had been ſufficiently appriſed, that we ſhould renew the ſame applications as before; and as they did not think proper to offer us either of thoſe requeſts, it appears I think too plainly, that they did not mean to grant us either of them. If they had, they would certainly not have declined the merit of being the firſt movers.

THIS ſame Judges-bill, then, was thrown out to us meerly for amuſement, as a ſop to qualify our diſappointment with regard to other matters of more real ſervice to the freedom, ſafety, and welfare of our country. Perhaps too it may be meant farther to hint to us, that we are not to expect a concurrence with any material meaſure of our own adoption, that ſhall not firſt have received the ſanction of a *precious conſent*, by propoſition from the miniſtry, in the governor's inſtructions that may be deputed to rule over, or to over-rule us, here.

THERE never was, perhaps, framed in our ſenate a bill ſo entirely relative to ourſelves, or which ſo little interfered with the intereſts, or concerns, of our great neighbour. However, ſome of thoſe, who dared not oppoſe it before the publick, have

taken

taken pains to undermine it in private, by urging two objections, with a view of abating our solicitude about it; as the first of these arguments, if just, must shew us the improbability of our success, and the other, if solid, the impropriety of our request.

It has been said, in the first place, that a bill for limiting the duration of senates, is an abridgment of the king's prerogative. To which I shall return only this short answer, viz. that it is an enlargement of it. In our parent country there was a law made, in the reign of Edward III. that a senate should be convened every year; which remained still the law, though sometimes arbitrarily infringed, especially in the despotic reigns of the Tudor and the Stuart lines; who either disused, or continued them, from year to year, by prorogation; a method first introduced by Henry VII. This law was afterwards adopted by us, in the reign of Henry VIII. and was never repealed. In the reign of William III. the prerogative was enlarged, by enacting a triennial senate in our neighbour country only; and in the reign of George I. the prerogative was further extended, by a power of continuing a senate for seven years: we remaining, all this while, as before, under the guardianship of a law for annual senates only.

Thus the highest stretch of ministerial influence, corroborated by an actual invasion and rebellion in the kingdom at that time, could extend no farther than to the confidence of only a seven years trust; so watchful and jealous are our great neighbours of so invaluable a stake as liberty. The same concur-

rence

rence of circumſtances at the ſame time induced us to ſubmit to a continuance of the ſame ſenate here, year after year, during the reign of George I. and to another again, during the reign of George II. and theſe were the only Life-Senates that ever were held in Barataria.

THE Pretender was then an alarming object; our lives, our liberties, our property, and religion, were all then at ſtake. We were then in poſſeſſion of a Whig-ſenate, and thought it might have been dangerous to have parted with it. We were ſufficiently aware of the infringement upon our conſtitution, but thought it "better to bear thoſe ills we knew, "than hazard others which we knew not of."

THESE panics ſubſiſted ſtill among us, till near the latter end of the laſt reign. We then, nay long before, became ſenſible of the grievance and diſadvantages of perennial ſenates; and the former reaſons having now perfectly ſubſided, the diſtinctions of Whig, Tory, or Jacobite, being intirely forgotten, and the chevalier no more thought of than Preſtor John, we had reaſon ſurely to expect a reſtoration of our legal rights, never yet repealed or reſigned, but only ſuſpended *pro tempore* with our own concurrence, as expedient to the ſafety equally of prince and people.

THIS temporary waiving of our right, can ſurely no more imply a ſurrender of it, than our ſubmitting to a ſuſpenſion of any other act in critical conjunctures can be conſtrued into a conſent for its repeal. We have, therefore, an undefeated claim to annual

ſenates

ſenates even at this time; for mere diſuſe, or the paſt arbitrary extenſion of them, can never eſtabliſh a prerogative againſt a ſtill ſubſiſting law.

I THINK, therefore, that our modeſt application for a ſeptennial ſenate, and deſiring the benefit of it once only in every two years, is a remarkable extenſion, inſtead of an abridgement of the prerogative royal. And as the bill is not framed ſo as to ſay that our ſenate ſhall ſubſiſt ſo long, but only that it ſhall not ſubſiſt longer, the only part of the prerogative, that could be affected by this bill, the right of diſſolving at will, remains ſtill untouched.

THE other objection, either ignorantly, or diſingenuouſly urged againſt this bill, is the idleneſs, diſſipation, and corrüption, that it muſt generally occaſion, every ſeven years, throughout the iſland; which may occaſion more damage, from the libertiniſm of the people, than can poſſibly be counter-vailed, in the liberty of the ſubject: the experience of which, they urge, has been ſufficiently proved already, in the manners of the lower claſſes of Conſtituents in a neighbouring nation, ſince a law of the ſame kind was obtained among them.

I WILL admit the fact alledged, in the inſtance quoted; and this the more readily, as it makes directly againſt the very induction that it is ſophiſtically meant to ſupport. In that country triennial ſenates were extended to ſeptennial ones: the value of a ſeat there, has been augmented to above double the rate of the former limitation. I am ſorry to be reduced to make uſe of mercantile terms upon ſo

ſuperior

ſuperior a ſubject as this; but there is no expreſſing a true ſtate of the caſe, or a juſt ſenſe of the iniquitous traffic too frequently carried on upon ſuch occaſions, but by referring you to the phraſes of Stock-Jobbing.

But the bill now before us, propoſes a reduction of a life-ſenate to a ſeptennial one. The price then of a ſeat among us would be conſiderably diminiſhed. As we hold our ſenates only once in two years, we can have but three ſeſſions to ſell our country in. There they have an open market for ſeven; conſequently, leſs bribery, debauch, and corruption, will neceſſarily obtain among us upon the propoſed alteration in our conſtitution, than muſt generally, or incidentally, be occaſioned, while it ſhall remain under the preſent tenure of a life-ſenate.

In fine, we are willing to ſurrender our right to an annual ſenate, and accept of a ſeptennial one: we are ready to compound for a ſeſſion only every ſecond year, inſtead of a claim to a yearly one: we offer to yield a prerogative by law, in exchange for an uſage, againſt it.—This bill, as I ſaid before, is relative ſolely to ourſelves; except that, as far as it extends itſelf to our parent country, it tends to the enlargement of the legal power of the crown.—If then ſo fair a propoſal ſhall ſtill be refuſed acceptance, we cannot, in reaſon, or juſtice, charge the miſcarriage of it to any oppoſition there, but to what the ſelfiſh influence of the Baſhaws among ourſelves may have induſtriouſly raiſed againſt it.—From which, O Miniſters of Grace, defend us!

THE poſt-boy ſounds his horn, ſo I muſt bid you adieu, 'till the next packet.

Yours, &c.

PHILADELPHUS.

LETTER III.

FROM A NATIVE OF BARATARIA, TO HIS FRIEND IN PENSYLVANIA.

Vane Ligur, *fruſtraque animis elate* ſuperbis,
Nequicquam patrias *tentaſti* lubricus *artes* VIRG.

MY DEAR FRIEND, *Jan.* 23, 1768.

YOU may percive, from the ſtate of the caſe in my laſt letter, what a conſtitutional advantage you at preſent enjoy above the Baratarians. You are yet in poſſeſſion of annual, or triennial parliaments, at leaſt. Guard them well, and they will guard you. And now is the proper time to ſet your watch, when a new office has juſt been appointed by the miniſtry, of a ſecretary for your colonies, to take ye all into guardianſhip, and continue your minority in *ſecula ſeculorum*.

I SHALL now give ſome account of thoſe particular meaſures, that have of late been practiſed againſt us; beginning firſt with the moſt preſſing of them, as it is one that is at preſent in eſſay; namely, a deſign to load us with the addition of three thouſand odd hundred men to our ſtanding army, conſiſting of twelve thouſand already; ſo as to bring this poor tradeleſs kingdom within one thou-

ſand

ſand of the military eſtabliſhment of our great Carthage.

THE pretence, too, for ſuch an augmentation is curious. It is in order to leave us in the poſſeſſion of our former complement; which we have ſo long paid for, without ever having had the benefit of it. If this was thought neceſſary, before, why have we been hitherto deprived of them? And if not deemed neceſſary, why are our troops to be augmented at this time, in a ſtate of profound peace, without the leaſt manner even of plauſible inducement for doing ſo?

NOR do the circumſtances of our finances afford any kind of temptation to ſuch a wanton extortion towards us. We have been conſiderably in debt for many years paſt, and the very laſt year we were further dipt for ſeventy thouſand pounds more, by the impoſitions laid upon us in the laſt ſeſſion, though the duties roſe that year higher, than they had ever done in any year before.

BUT, indeed, I will not wrong the miniſtry, by charging upon them any ſuch unreaſonable and unwarrantable attempt againſt our liberty and property both, as this augmentation too plainly appears to be—Its riſe muſt be inveſtigated much nearer home; and the true ſtate or account of the matter appears obviouſly to be this.

TOWARD the latter end of laſt ſeſſion, after a militia-bill, which would have ſupplied every ſuppoſed neceſſity, and ſuperſeded every manner of pretence for an augmentation, had been thrown out by

Rufinus,

Rufinus and his partizans, he rifes up, and pleads voluntarily for an addition of four thouſand men to our military eſtabliſhment, as a thing abſolutely requiſite to our ſafety.

WAS not this calling aloud to government for ſuch a propoſition, and promiſing publickly to ſupport it? He plunged into the ford himſelf firſt, to ſound the depths and ſhallows of it for them. He ſtepped forward, as a forlorn hope, to afford them the encouragement of his ſucceſs, or the warning of his defeat.

ACCORDINGLY, ſuch a meaſure, it ſeems, though with ſome moderation of his exceſs, has been adopted, in this ſeſſion; that is, as we have been advertiſed by Rufin himſelf; for when a certain perſon, happened to mention in the ſenate, that he had heard it rumoured that ſuch a propoſition was intended, every one elſe ſat ſilent;—it was either not purpoſed, or not yet ſufficiently prepared to be offered:—while this ſame advance guard, being vain and poſitive, (as little men generally are, ſays Gilblas) inſtantly took the alarm, and fearing, leſt his favourite ſcheme ſhould vaniſh into air for want of courage or conduct among his partizans, boldly ſtept forward, and like an herald denounced the war—

And all this I can do, becauſe I dare.

SUCH a volunteer in iniquity is a new character among us. The *cohors prætoria* of *Barataria* keep themſelves always compact. They never ſkirmiſh. They deliberate, debate, and weigh in concert together

gether whatever measures they think proper to propose to the publick. But Rufinus, having no other merit or weight in himself, or family, or connection, must be forward, must be busy, in order to recommend himself to notice, or to prove his use.

This Autochthon found it necessary to assume to himself a sort of self-created consequence, like his compeer Derrick, king Pepin of the Baths, who equally a Scythian, face all over, has by impudence, and insignificancy, wormed himself into great emoluments of office, in spite of opposition; and attended throughout with ignominy and contempt.

By arts such as these, however, Rufin has raised himself into the consideration, though not the esteem, of our ministry here. For, whenever a new governour is appointed over our island, Rufin instantly hoists sail, *primo vere*, and lays hold of him by the ear directly. He talks plausibly, and with full confidence; and has attained to a certain rank in the state, that makes him be sufficiently attended to. These governours know nothing of the people they come over to rule, and very little of the business they are sent over to transact, and are generally indolent enough to rest themselves upon the first prop that presents itself; so that by this means, whatever pro-consul is deputed here, Rufin immediately kidnaps him into guardianship, and like another Trinculo erects himself into a Viceroy over him.

But what is admirable too, in this person's character, is, that in the close of both his speeches upon the augmentation, Rufin softened them off, with only

only urging the preſent danger, or neceſſity *(in a time of profound peace and ſecurity)* for ſuch an expedient; but *he hoped, he wiſhed, he believed,* that the militia might, and would, hereafter, be put upon ſuch a ſufficient footing, for every defence of the ſtate, that there ſhould not remain ſoon the leaſt neceſſity, or pretence, for continuing a ſingle mercenary in our pay—except one Serjeant.

THIS is a ſpecies of that perſon's oratory. He begins firſt with propoſing ſome arbitrary or extraordinary meaſure or other, and then palinodes it off again in the concluſion with ſome ſuch extravagant wiſh, or improbable ſuggeſtion. Thus he would only raiſe troops, until the experiment of a militia, *which nobody doubted of*, could be tried, and then he wiſhed, he hoped, nay, he believed, &c. That is, "Let us put arms into the hands of a miniſtry ſufficient for our defeat, and whenever you ſhall think fit to call upon them to exchange theſe for others that will anſwer only for our defence, you need ſay no more;—a word to the wiſe will be enough." But whether we ſhall take the wiſe man's advice, of *ſpem pretio non emere*, to truſt to the fool's wiſdom, of dear-bought experience, is the only difficulty that can poſſibly occur upon the preſent queſtion.

HIS whole elocution is alike futile, and ſuperficial. It has verdure without ſoil, like the fields imagined in a calenture, on which whoever ſhould attempt to repoſe, would ſoon be loſt. He has great fluency, but little or no argument. He has made a good collection of words, and has got many of the flowers of ſpeech by heart. He has ſome *fancy* too,

but

but it is ſuch a one as paſſes beauty. It ſerves juſt to wrap him ſometimes into the clouds, and leave him there, hovering above reaſon, and fluttering below imagination; while he holds himſelf ſuſpended all the while * planing, and warbling like a lark, without one thought to interrupt the ſong.

If he has any forte, it is in vituperation or abuſe. This he acknowledged himſelf once, upon his being called to a ſevere account, for a deliberation of that kind; in which it has been generally allowed, that Rufin actually did render a Billingſgate Brawl into ſo dictionary a language, that, as Milton ſays in his Lycidas, Juno herſelf dared not have given him odds.———He did indeed, confeſs his character to be apt too much to exceed into a warmth of that kind; *Sunt quibus videor nimis acer*; and he will give us leave, I hope, to add the remainder of the ſentence, which is full as true—*et ultra legem tendere opus.*

My paper is too far ſpent to enter upon any other of the meaſures I have already hinted at; ſo adieu, my dear friend, until the next eaſterly wind.

Your's, &c.

PHILADELPHUS.

* The power a bird has of preſerving its equiliber in the air, without uſing its wings, or changing ſcite.

LETTER IV.

FROM A NATIVE OF BARATARIA, TO HIS FRIEND IN PENSYLVANIA.

Venali referens certamina campo. LUCAN.

MY DEAR FRIEND, *Jan.* 26, 1768.

IN order to combat the purpoſed meaſure of an augmentation, our unwearied patriots have, I hear, once more prepared a militia-bill to appear in array againſt it. Let them be both drawn forth to be reviewed on the Campus Martius, and then aſk the people to which of theſe corps they would chuſe to truſt the defence of their laws, their liberties, their properties? Whether to aliens, to mercenaries, to ſlaves, or to natives, to freemen, and champions *pro aris & focis?*

IF the obvious ſolution of ſo plain a queſtion may not be allowed a concluſive argument, political maxims muſt then be affirmed to differ widely from common ſenſe and reaſon; which being the only logick of the people will, I hope, ever prove too ſtrong for the ſophiſtry of a court. But reaſons of ſtate, they tell us, ſtrike deeper into the nature of things, than the *prima facies* of general appearances. They do, indeed, ſo deep ſometimes, as to wound the very vitals of the conſtitution.

RUFINUS, it ſeems, was one of theſe deep ſtateſmen. He defeated the firſt militia-bill, and then

urged

urged the expediency of an Augmentation. He has again proclaimed the latter, and is now using all his insidious arts to oppose the former. But what surprises me most is, that this same recruiting serjeant has been able to trumpet Sancho, too, to his standard; whose favourite scheme, of old, a militia-bill was; and to the effecting of which he exerted all his interest, rhetorick, and powers, once in *La Mancha*. For Sancho, they say, is fond of a red-coat when dyed with—*cochineal* only.

The first stride of Rufin's apostacy was made in the first session of this senate, in support of a money-bill, that had taken its rise in the Privy Council. This was a point-blank shot, let fly directly against the bulwark of our constitution, the democratick part of our senate Money is the sinew of war, says Livy; it is the spring of all movements in a state; and while the people reserve to themselves the sole right of being the first movers of this great primum mobile, they leave to government neither teeth, nor claws, to injure them. In reward for his having thus betrayed the palladium of our liberties into the hands of the besiegers, he was immediately promoted to the post of first serjeant in Barataria.

His next step in the session was the supporting a motion for raising several new regiments, in addition to our military force. The expence of this augmentation was, in the first place, an heavy and unreasonable burthen upon an already over-loaded people; but the application was still more grievous. We were treated like a ravaged country, where contributions are levied to maintain the very force

that oppreſſes it. This meaſure of arbitrary power was carried that ſeſſion; and for his active ſervices in enſlaving his country, he was rewarded by the addition of a ſalary of 500l. a year to his office of Serjeant.

The ſecond ſeſſion, he moſt ſtrenuouſly oppoſed an enquiry into the exorbitancy of Penſions laid upon this nation, to the amount of above four ſcore thouſand pounds a year; which exceeds our civil eſtabliſhment, and is remitted moſtly to foreigners and abſentees.

In the ſpeech from the throne, delivered at the opening of that ſeſſion, the ſenate was informed of the late peace having been concluded. This was a matter that we had nothing to do with. We are never conſulted about peace or war, nor are ever any preliminaries or definitive treaties laid before us. Therefore as they could not fairly frame any judgement about the matter, the ſenate took no notice of that part of the ſpeech, in the addreſs they returned to it. However, toward the cloſe of that ſeſſion ſome court manœuvres were performed, in concert with Rufin; and to the ſurpriſe and ſcandal of all Barataria, a particular, unprecedented, and ſervile addreſs, in compliment to the peace, was moved for, and carried, againſt a ſtrong and ſpirited oppoſition.

The Serjeant's ſervices, during the courſe of that ſeſſion, were then to be taken into miniſterial conſideration. It had been diſcovered ſome time before, that the aforeſaid additional ſalary was illegal. He muſt, therefore, reſign it, and accept in exchange

change the *sinecure* of Alnagers's place, a patent value 1000l. *per ann.* This same salary was then turned into a pension for life to the resigning Alnager, to whom Rufin paid also the further consideration of 3000l.

In the first session, pensions came again into enquiry. It was certainly a grievous oppression, both arbitrary and illegal. Rufin fought his country with the weapons of prerogative against law; and the patriots were overpowered in the field.

Next came on a corn-bill, to empower our governour and council here to lay on an embargo upon any present or foreseen scarcity of grain in Barataria. The bill was remitted to La Mancha, and was returned to us, altered after so extraordinary and unconstitutional a manner, that our patriots warmly opposed the passing of it. And even Rufin had not resolution enough, at that time, to support it; and without saying one word retired from the debate, taking his pupil, * the then secretary, along with him.

However, he returned soon again, voted for it, and the point was carried by dint of numbers, without argument; and the serjeant, having recruited his courage with his forces, affirmed that the King had a right in himself to impose an embargo at his own will and pleasure, without any new law;—(a doctrine never advanced but in a land of despotism, and damned in the senate of La Mancha since that debate)—and that, therefore, it ought to be accepted by the Baratarians as a most gracious condescension

* Lord Beauchamp.

ſcenſion in his Majeſty, to admit any of the other eſtates into a legiſlative concurrence with him upon this occaſion.

THE patriots bravely oppoſed their ſhields againſt this ſtab made at our conſtitution; but being, as before, over-powered by numbers, begged only for this reaſonable quarter;—that the foreign inſertions in that bill ſhould not be brought into precedent for the future. But even this piece of juſtice was denied them: and the privy council of La Mancha by the maintenance of thoſe inſertions was ſuffered to ſtand upon our records, as part of the executive power of Barataria.

OUR privy council here, too, having made ſome encroachments on the conſtitution of this kingdom, the patriots, the guardians of our liberties, moved for leave to bring in a law more fully to explain an act, made in the time of Philip and Mary, explanatory of Poynings' law, relative to the power of our privy council. But the very idea was condemned unheard; nor would the cohors prætoria, headed by the Serjeant, hazard a ſubject of this kind even to be brought into debate, leſt the arguments in ſupport of it might mark their oppoſition too ſtrongly.

UPON this queſtion the Serjeant, after his uſual declamatory manner, affirmed, that the preſent frame of our conſtitution, guarded by a privy council, formed ſuch a compoſition of civil polity, that if Harrington, the learned writer upon government, had been then alive, he would have found it impoſſible to have added any one article toward the improvement of our legiſlature.

BUT

BUT this enthuſiaſm, with regard to the excellence of a privy council, is natural in ſuch a perſon as our Serjeant. He has lately, and fortuitouſly, happened to become a member of that illuſtrious body politick. When honours deſcend of courſe to men of hereditary pretenſions, or become the reward of perſonal merit, they are apt to conſider them with a ſort of indifference, as family eſtates, or rightful purchaſes, merely. But, whenever *Novi Homines* happen to riſe to them, by accident, intrigue, or any other contingency, they muſt, neceſſarily, derive all their weight and conſequence from the rank itſelf; which they, therefore, endeavour to elevate to a ſuperior pre-eminence, as being themſelves mainly intereſted in the dignity of it.

IN that ſame ſeſſion too, Rufin, as was before related, defeated the militia-bill, and firſt threw out his long line to ſound the augmentation, now depending. In conſideration of ſuch hireling ſervices, he was recompenſed by a patent for the reverſionary grant of ſecretary of ſtate to Barataria; beſides which he likewiſe demanded a reimburſement of the 3000l. he had paid as a fine for the purchaſe of the Alnager's office; which he claimed as a promiſe from government for his former hackney-ſhip.

THIS they are willing to grant him; but the ways and means were ſo guarded by the watchmen of the publick, that it was difficult to find out a ſafe method of ſatisfying his demand. But our Rufin, ſtill fruitful in reſources for his own advantages, applied for the commiſſion of an half pay majority, which he had articled to diſpoſe of to captain

M——, for the ſaid 3000l. This ſcheme was immediately adopted, and a letter was inſtantly diſpatched to La Mancha to recommend ſo hopeful an expedient; but this ſecret happening, ſome way or other, to take wind among the friends of Barataria, this ſame letter of diſcredit was forthwith withdrawn; and the diſappointed ſerjeant obliged to ſit down with this loſs, having only a thouſand pounds a year to compenſate him.

ADDED to all theſe emoluments, we muſt not forget the acquiſition to his family of patent employments to his two ſons; which, all together, amount to a much larger income and value for the ruin of one kingdom, than the gallant Hawke has been endowed with for the ſaving of three.

IT was this kind of bravo-extortion that made our late Sadock, or high prieſt, ſtile Rufin a ready money voter, as he always inſiſted upon prompt payment for every ſervice he rendered to the miniſtry. And he was in the right of it; for, where it is neither legal nor honourable to claim a reward, one ſhould always take care to receive the wages of iniquity beforehand. Politicians are the only gang that have no confidence in one another.

THIS ſame ſingle-ſeſſion, nay, this ſingle member but double-tongued Ligurian, without influence or connexion to ſupport his meaſures, is conſtantly urging propoſitions to government, in order to harraſs out oppoſition, even though they fail, and if ſucceſsful, to ſtrengthen their hands, ſo as to compel us into an *union*; or at leaſt to induce one, by reducing us to think it more prudent to ſell out to a

rich,

rich, a powerful, and an encroaching neighbour, and ſo become tenants under his protection, than to ſtand perpetual ſuits at law under the weight of his oppreſſion. And in ſuch a ſad ſituation as this Machiavel would bring us into, it would certainly be better even to purchaſe a little liberty from our neighbours, than to live without any at all of our own. Reduced to ſuch an alternative, it were almoſt better to place ourſelves under the immediate protection of thoſe, who muſt have ſome advantage in our welfare, than to remain under the ſubjection of tyrants among ourſelves, who continue great, only thro' our meanneſs or expence.

But let us caſt off the yoke of ſlavery, and vindicate our freedom and independence. Let us no longer be rid, rather than ruled, as we have too long been, by men who have neither heads, nor hearts. Had they even heads alone, they might have contrived to have enriched themſelves, without impoveriſhing us; or had they only hearts without underſtanding, they might be open to advice or reproof; and well meant blunders would neither be defended, nor repeated.

But we frame a golden calf with our own hands, and then fall down, and worſhip it. We ſubmit ourſelves to a tyranny without authority, and whoſe only power lies in our own hands. The brave Caſſius could not brook the unconſtitutional dictatorſhip of a Cæſar, while we crouch ſervilely to Lepidus. Freedom is offered to us by the generous aſſertors of our liberties, while we, like Cappadocians, ſtill hug the chain.

THE meaſures which this ſtate-quack has purſued, even ſince the commencement of his Licenciateſhip, have manifeſtly tended to a diſſolution of our conſtitution. By reducing us to become a province only of another kingdom, he hopes to recommend himſelf to a ſeat in that ſenate, where he vainly imagines that his parts, but not impoſſibly his arts, may ſoon render him conſiderable. And this would certainly much endear him to that city * which he repreſents at preſent; for ſhould an union between Barataria and La Mancha once prevail, that port would neceſſarily, become ſoon the metropolis of this iſland, and reduce our preſent capital to a fiſhing village.

Adieu, until the next packet.

Your's, &c.

PHILADELPHUS.

LETTER V.

FROM A NATIVE OF BARATARIA, TO HIS FRIEND IN PENSYLVANIA.

Quicquid agunt homines.

MY DEAR FRIEND, *Jan.* 30, 1768.

IT has been remarked by hiſtorians, that in the cycle of ages, or rotation of ſtates, the ſlaves of arbitrary governments recover their liberty; and free nations in their turn loſe theirs.

France,

* The city of Corke.

France, Spain, Italy, and moſt of the roman catholick countries, have been for ſome time making large ſtrides toward freedom, which they will probably finally effect. For an idea of this kind, once well conceived, is never to be eradicated; as it is one ſo virtually congenial with our very nature.

The late Dauphin's dying admonition to his father was a truly political teſtament, for that ſpecies of monarchy;—"that the aboliſhing the order of the Jeſuits was a moſt imprudent act; as that ſociety was one of the ſtrongeſt bulwarks of arbitrary dominion." In this ſentiment he was certainly right; for though thoſe prieſts of Belial do knock a king on the head now and then, it is only in order to render his ſucceſſor the more abſolute, through their own means.

The ſame unguarded policy obtaining, almoſt at the ſame time, throughout moſt of the roman catholick ſtates of Europe, inclines me to think that the æra is near at hand, when the popular ſcale, no longer balanced by prieſtcraft, will make the regal one kick the beam.

It is alike plain from hiſtory that providence, for its own wiſe reaſons, has never yet ſuffered all nations to be free at any one period. There is but a certain quota of liberty indulged to mankind, which they muſt ſhare among them by turns. It is like the ſea; when it flows in upon ſome coaſts, it neceſſarily leaves others dry. It is like the all-chearing ſun too, which cannot ſhine on all the world at once; and nations in ſucceſſion only can partake its light or warmth.

THROUGH what means the ſeveral proteſtant ſtates of Europe are like to loſe their liberties, is a ſubject too general for me to enter into here, my whole concern being entirely occupied at preſent in reflections more immediately relative to my own country.

I HAVE already informed you of ſome of thoſe deſpotick and corrupt meaſures, which have lately been exerciſed againſt us; and I ſhall now proceed to give you an account of others in the ſame ſtrain, which manifeſtly tend to the bringing about the rotation, I have above alluded to, and which will, too probably, commence with the epicycle of Barataria.

. THE law's delay has been an old and always a grievous complaint among us. The Frederic-code is not a digeſt to be even hoped for in theſe kingdoms. But the active friends of our conſtitution have ſometimes endeavoured to remedy ſome of the grievances and inconveniencies of protracted ſuits of law; and particularly in the firſt ſeſſion of this preſent ſenate, a bill was brought in to abridge the tedious proceſs of them all, in ſuch a manner as would have relieved moſt part of the difficulties and diſtreſſes of clients, and have been equally advantageous both to plaintiff and defendant.

THIS bill was remitted over to La Mancha, in order to receive an approbation, which no political foreçaſt could have in the leaſt doubted of. It was, as I ſaid before with regard to the ſeptennial act, a matter that related ſolely to ourſelves, and had not any manner of connection or interference with the laws, the intereſts, or other policies, of that country.

BUT

BUT it ſeems that a certain La Manchan, * who holds by deputy a conſiderable publick office in our courts of law, and lives on the other ſide of the water, would have been a loſer by our gain. Some of the fees of extortion and oppreſſion, which the law, as it then and ſtill ſtands, impowered him to exact, would have been ſomewhat diminiſhed, had ſo deſirable a publick good been obtained toward the benefit of the nation.

THIS La Manchan, therefore, roſe up in arms againſt the bill, and unhappily for us happened to have power and influence ſufficient to defeat it. Thus the unwarrantable intereſt of a ſingle alien was preferred to the general advantage of the whole nation of Barataria.

WE laboured for a conſiderable time lately under another difficulty of the ſame nature, though of a more temporary kind, by the delay of having the higheſt poſt in the law here filled up in proper time; through which neglect we ſuffered greatly in the poſtponing of ſeveral ſuits of great conſequence, depending in our high court of equity.

THE patriots, both of our democracy, and of our ariſtocracy, in their ſeparate departments this ſeſſion moved for an addreſs to his Majeſty, ſetting forth and ſtrongly repreſenting our grievance in this particular, and humbly intreating a ſpeedy remedy to our complaint. But we were given to underſtand by Rufin and his aſſociates, that ſuch murmurings were an attack upon prerogative; that it was preſumption to pretend to dictate to his majeſty; that he would certainly do every thing proper

* Lord Hillſborough.

proper in his own good time ;—with other flowers of the ſame ſpecious court-rhetorick. We doubted not his Majeſty's paternal attention toward the eaſe and welfare of his people, but we doubted, and not without reaſon, the agency of his miniſters ; eſpecially after a diſcovery of the ſly Caledon's clandeſtine negociation, lately, with regard to that very office.

But the moſt arbitrary, the moſt wanton exertion of miniſterial inſolence, that perhaps ever yet was attempted toward a free people, remains yet to be related. On account of the great ſcarcity of grain, which had affected both La Mancha and Barataria for ſome time before, an act was paſſed the laſt ſeſſion in the ſenate of the former, to impower his Majeſty at any time during the vacation of the ſenate, then enſuing, to lay an embargo upon all corn carrying out of either kingdom, until the twentieth day of September laſt: the mode of exerting that power was alſo preſcribed to be by proclamation, printed in the La Manchan Gazette.

In the ſame act, by a later clauſe, this power was further extended in time, only to the next meeting of the ſenate, at which period the act ſhall ceaſe : but if the proclamation ſhould happen to be ſtill ſtanding out at the opening of the next ſeſſion, it was provided for by a further clauſe, that it ſhould continue in force for twenty days longer. But in theſe latter clauſes Barataria is not once mentioned ; the power being confined to La Mancha

Mancha only, and the mode of publication, as before, prescribed to be in the La Manchan Gazette.

THIS proclamation was issued in La Mancha in all its forms, and continued during its legal period, there. But all this while the governours and council of Barataria, taking no notice of the La Manchan act, issued their own proclamation as usual in times of dearth or scarcity of corn; and they were suffered still to continue it, without offence to the La Manchan ministry.

THIS proclamation continued the embargo here, until the twenty-seventh of Nov. being two days after the La Manchan senate had been convened; when the sage Sancho, by and with the advice of his privy council, those guardians of our constitution in the opinion of Rufin, ordered our proclamation to be withdrawn, and issued a new one on his own authority, reciting the La Manchan act, which had expired two days before; thinking that the mere ghost of a La Manchan law was sufficient to awe the cowardly Baratarians into submission. Nor was even the mode observed, had the law still subsisted; for the publication was made in the Baratarian, not in the La Manchan Gazette.

SUCH a proceeding was certainly most extraordinary and unaccountable in our ministry here. Were they stupid themselves, or did they think us so? The imposition of an authority over us, without the least pretence of any subsisting law, even of implication, was assuredly an open declaration, that the prerogative was henceforward to become the sole code of Baratarian rights.

THIS

THIS invaſion upon our liberty, this irruption into our conſtitution, was warmly oppoſed by the champions of our freedom in the Baratarian ſenate. But, alas! in vain. The activity of Rufinus, with the ſupineneſs or irreſolution of the Colonel, ſerved equally toward our defeat; we were out-numbered as before. So that by this acquieſcence we have admitted ourſelves to be ſlaves at the ſole mercy of the conqueror.

Omnia venalia Romæ was the motto of that great commonwealth, juſt before it's declenſion. And I am ſorry to be obliged to conclude this letter with the reflection I made in the firſt paragraph of our correſpondence, that "like cauſes muſt ever produce ſimilar effects." Avert this omen, O ye champions of liberty and Barataria.

I SHALL now take my leave, for the preſent, with another quotation from the ſame letter, by declaring to you, that "I call not out for the ſword, but for the ſhield."

Adieu,

PHILADELPHUS.

LETTER VI.

FROM A NATIVE OF BARATARIA, TO HIS FRIEND IN PENSYLVANIA.

In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas
Corpora. OV.

MY DEAR CORRESPONDENT, *Feb.* 2, 1768.

I HAVE in ſome of my former letters mentioned a certain appendix, or accretion to our

our government, that I hope is unknown among your happier colonies;—a ſort of wen or excreſcence, that has grown out of the corruption of our conſtitution, and is nouriſhed ſolely by its diſtemper. The diſorder I hinted at is a certain body of men, ſelected by the Crown, under the denomination of a privy council for this kindom.

THERE is indeed in La Mancha a conſtitutional body of the ſame denomination eſtabliſhed, who confine themſelves within the original deſign of their inſtitution, by continuing to act only as a council of advice, not of operation; while ours challenge and exerciſe rights of controul, totally deſtructive of our legiſlature.

IN the reign of Henry VII. a repreſentation being made to the King, that ſome of his vicegerents here had ſometimes, without the knowledge or conſent of the Crown, taken upon them to ſummon a ſenate, partially and ſuddenly, upon frivolous pretences, or from intereſted motives, to obtain the ſanction of certain laws for their own purpoſes, to which they aſſumed a power of giving the royal aſſent, without the knowledge of the monarch—— for theſe reaſons, ſir Edward Poynings was appointed pro-conſul of this kingdom, with inſtructions to enquire into, and remedy theſe grievances.

AND this great end was ſufficiendly anſwered by the obtaining a law to be made, that no ſenate ſhould be thenceforward ſummoned in Barataria, before the reaſons or exigencies for convening the ſame ſhould be certified by the governour and council of Barataria, and tranſmitted over to La Mancha,

Mancha, and be returned with the approbation of his Majesty and council there.

THE scope of this act tended manifestly to the advantage of this nation, by restraining a wanton and arbitrary abuse of power in the vice-roy here; but could never be meant to grant any additional privileges to the vice-roy and council, or to abrogate from the senate any of its former rights. No part either of the letter or the spirit of that law affords the least manner of pretence for either of these assumptions.

AND yet, upon a forced and unwarrantable construction of this very act, our Privy Council, these guardians of our constitution, have not only presumed to claim, but dared to exercise, powers which would, if submitted to, render our senates the meer pupils of these high mightinesses; to perform those exercises, and discuss those themes, only, that were marked out to them by their preceptors.

FOR, because the reasons for summoning the senate are previously to be certified by them, they pretended to argue that a senate has no manner of right to propose or debate upon any one article which is not within their certificate. This is what they presume to claim. And also because they are to certify the causes for the calling of a senate, they have assumed the sole right of certifying or transmitting, and also of not certifying or transmitting the bills proposed by the senate. And this is what they dare to exercise.

THUS have this despotick council established themselves, *auctoritate sua*, into the rank of perpetual

tual dictators, and arrogated to their institution the exclusive rights of *the Lords of Articles*, who used to exercise the same sort of privileges in the kingdom of Scotland; where that collective body, being nominated by the Crown, became fit tools of arbitrary power, and soon rendered the senates of that nation more insignificant than a grand jury, who are allowed to propose and debate upon the business of their country, without any previous consent.

But I am ashamed of insisting so long upon an argument, that so few words may sufficiently clear up. I need only ask this insolent, this self-created fourth estate, whether the Privy Council of La Mancha have ever presumed to claim or dared to exercise any of those powers, which ours pretend to? Had they even ever possessed any such, they are so absolutely repugnant to every idea of a free constitution, that they would certainly have been abolished at the Revolution. But that great political crisis left them just as it found them, an harmless council of deliberation and advice, not an estate of concurrence or co-operation. Now, the only question that need be asked upon so fair a state of the matter, is, whether our own senates could ever have meant to grant a power to controul themselves? Or whether La Mancha, our parent country, would ever have concurred in raising our Privy Council to a rank and dignity in the state, which they have denied to their own?

The Privy Council is no part of our constitution, any more than the counsel at the bar are of our courts. They have forced themselves upon us like

the

the Decemvirs among the Romans. They were no part of the original inſtitution; and by aſſuming a right of cognizance and controul in all matters relative to the ſtate, finally occaſioned thoſe convulſions in the common-wealth, which muſt naturally ariſe from ſuch innovations, where any idea or ſpirit of freedom remains among the people.

The only way of preſerving the ſubſiſtence of a ſtate is by making it, upon all difficult occaſions, recur back again to it's firſt principles. Any innovation by way of amendment to it is dangerous; *aſſuitur pannus.* It is like introducing auxiliaries into the heart of a country by way of defending—rather of enſlaving—it. It is like the preſent ſcheme of ſecuring our liberty and property by an augmentation. It puts me in mind of an epitaph upon a ſplenetick perſon who had quacked himſelf to death:

I was well—but I would be better,
I took phyſic—and I died.

A FREE ſenate is the only ſafe-guard of our liberties; the *Thermopolæ* of our freedom. Let us then call forth a *Leonidas* to defend that paſs, and our three hundred Baratarians ſhall be found ſufficient to repel the numerous hoſt of the opulent, the voluptuous, and the invading Perſian.

Adieu,

PHILADELPHUS.

LET-

LETTER VII.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.

SIR, *May* 24, 1768.

HAVING ſeen an incorrect and imperfect addreſs handed about, as the anſwer of the inhabitants of Barataria to their Governour, full of *ſtars* and *daſhes*, which I make no doubt muſt embarraſs the reader as much as they generally do me in the houſe, I ſend you herewith a correct copy of their anſwer, at large, without either daſh, ſtar, or blank; by inſerting which in your paper, you will oblige

Your humble Servant,

E. S.
Cler. Dom. Com.

THE ANSWER OF THE INHABITANTS OF BARATARIA, TO THE SPEECH OF SANCHO PANCA THEIR GOVERNOR.

MOST GRACIOUS SANCHO,

WE are charmed beyond meaſure with your modeſty and humility. We can aſſure you with the ſtricteſt truth, that we are ſatisfied as yourſelf can be of your inability to ſupport the weight of government, of your meanneſs in tamely ſubmitting to the tyrannical dictates of your haughty maſters, and endeavouring to carry into execution ſchemes, which even your own weak brain informed you,

would

would be highly injurious to the intereſt of the people you govern, and draw upon you the univerſal odium of the whole kingdom. We ſee you in the very poſture you have ſo faithfully and characteriſtically portrayed yourſelf, with your hands pinioned behind you.—But although we cannot but commend your modeſty, your want of ſpirit is by no means the object of our admiration: even a worm will turn when trodden on. We are unable to conceive ſuch a want of ſpirit in a human breaſt, as not to prefer the thanks, applauſe, and grateful acknowledgements of a generous people, to the poor ſatisfaction of gratifying men who have loaded you with every ſpecies of indignity which malice could ſuggeſt, or contempt of you inſpire; who after you have performed the diſagreeable taſk, will immediately diveſt you of that ſhadw of power which you at preſent poſſeſs. The treatment which you lately met with, one would have imagined, could not but have raiſed reſentment, even in a ſtoick's boſom. Miniſters have made you publickly give a promiſe of a law to improve our conſtitution, and afterwards put it out of your power to perform it. For, at length this boaſted conſtitutional law appears to be nothing leſs than a requiſition to recognize, in the moſt ſolemn manner, a power moſt unjuſtifiably uſurped by the * ſecret committee, and to carry that power farther than was before ever thought of: the recognition of which would entail ſlavery on us and our poſterity for ever. We conſider this, not only as an indignity to you, but as the greateſt inſult that was ever offered to a free people.

* The Privy Council.

ple. The only reaſon that we can ſuggeſt to ourſelves for having a law ſent to us, which could not but be rejected, is that the very ſame promiſe may afford ample matter to fill up the vacuum of your ſucceſſor's moſt gracious ſpeech, as it did of your own. Conſidering theſe things, we cannot help exclaiming, is this the man who ſucceeded the young and ſpirited Turnus as chief commander, at an ever memorable engagement? Is this the man whoſe courage and military exploits Fame has trumpeted in no common ſound?

We are fully convinced that it was not you who obtained for us a law to limit the duration of leaſes:† that law was ſent to us, either out of policy, in order to put a ſtop for the future to all proud connexions in this country, or through an imagination, that it was only tranſmitted in certain ſecurity of its never being returned to us, being extorted ſolely by the importunity of the people, and not paſſed by the diſintereſted patriotiſm of legiſlators; and that therefore on its return it would be unanimouſly rejected; by which means the grand council would not only render itſelf thoroughly contemptible, but be unable ever after to make the ſame requeſt with propriety, or proſpect of ſucceſs. Your own inſignificance, and the contempt with which you are treated by the men in power, are ſufficient indications of your inability to obtain, by any intereſt you could make, ſo important a point. And you may reſt aſſured that the credit we give you on this account, is only that we may induce governours to intereſt

† The Octennial Bill.

intereſt themſelves in other meaſures for the advantage of this country, by ſhewing them that even the moſt diſtant appearance of having benefited us, is ſufficient to obtain our thanks and applauſe.—— We were preſent at the debate relative to the introduction * of foxes and fire-brands, and heard with equal indifference the unconnected and half-formed ſentences of fox-hunters, the diſintereſted harangues of candidates for peerages, and the flimſy attempts of military heroes, who imagine long ſpeeches neceſſarily contain weighty and forcible arguments. One veteran indeed pleaded for foxes, on whoſe attachment and fidelity to Barataria we always placed the firmeſt reliance; we heard him with emotion and concern, but without conviction: arguments had he none; at ſome expreſſions our hearts ſunk within us, and at length tears ſtole ſilently down our cheeks. But we are ſtill confident that his vote was given for foxes, through error in judgment, and not want of ſteadineſs to the intereſts of Barataria. But we heard with the higheſt ſatisfaction ſuch ſounds as theſe:—"We well remember what an univerſal alarm ſome time ago ſpread itſelf throughout the kingdom, on the ſuppoſition of an intended union; how much more ought we now to be alarmed, when we are required to ſubmit to all the inconveniencies of an union, without any the leaſt proſpect of participating of its advantages? By agreeing to the propoſed introduction of foxes, we ſhall ſubject ourſelves to a greater ſhare of the burdens of our mother country, than even Highland ſuſtains, which is ſuffered to partake

* The Augmentation of the Army.

take of every bleſſing which a free and uninterrupted commerce can beſtow.—Many benefits we have been told will ariſe to us from the introduction of theſe vermin, but what ſecurity have we that they will be ſuffered to remain among us; the promiſe of ſportſmen—nay, not ſo much, only the intention of promiſes. And can we, who have ſo often been impoſed upon, place any confidence in ſo fallacious a ſecurity? At the beginning of a late war we granted money for a freſh recruit of foxes, on the aſſurance of a ſportſman, that they ſhould continue among us; but even before this promiſe was made, orders had been iſſued for their being tranſported out of our country; ſo that in fact the promiſe was broken even before it was made. We again and again granted money for the ſame purpoſe on the ſame ſecurity, and were again and again deſervedly the dupes of our own credulity. But what is the moſt abominable of all, is, that we ſhall probably put ourſelves to this expence in order to imbrue our hands in the blood of our fellow-ſufferers and fellow-countrymen, whoſe ſole crime is the love of liberty. The cauſe of the Province is our own cauſe; the ſame law that enſlaves them enſlaves us likewiſe. And ſhall we ſubmit to the cruel, baſe, and ignominious taſk of ſupporting a ſyſtem begun by a weak, and purſued by a wicked, adminiſtration? God forbid. Let us rather ſpeak to our mother country in the language of the gallant Frenchman to his king, who, when he was ordered to perform ſome baſe action, exclaimed, "I am ready to expend my fortune, and loſe my life in your

ſervice; but I will never ſubmit to do any thing unbecoming the character of a ſoldier and a man." But what language can we find to expreſs our gratitude to him*, who proved by irrefragable arguments our inability to ſupport the expence which would be incurred by the intended increaſe of foxes? his calculations were ſo fair, that even your own ſcribe was forced to acknowledge they were juſt. Indeed upon whatever ſubject this champion of our liberty ſpeaks, he ſpeaks with ſuch knowledge, accuracy and perſpicuity, that one would imagine that ſubject had been the chief object of his enquiry.——Does he make calculations; what arithmetician more exact?——Does he plead his country's cauſe? what breaſt glows not with patriotiſm?—— He ſeems to us nearly to approach to that great original, whom he ſo well underſtands, Demoſthenes. He has all his fire, brevity, and perſpicuity. And we truſt that he will not only be handed down to poſterity as a genius and an orator, but what will be much more to his honour, a man of integrity.— Your Excellency we are certain will excuſe this digreſſion on the character of a man, whom you cannot but admire.

We ſee and lament with your Excellency your want of ability for the arduous taſk of government. But your abilities in the ſocial character are univerſally acknowledged and eſteemed. We have ſeen with equal pleaſure and aſtoniſhment your Excellency and your Bacchanalian aſſociate at the politeſt aſſemblies, even at Attick entertainments, reeling to and

* Henry Flood, Eſq.

and fro in all the agreeable attitudes which a head full of wine naturally occaſions. We cannot but look upon you both as appearing with peculiar dignity in ſuch ſituations: you as governour of an extenſive kingdom, he as governour of a learned ſeminary, whoſe exemplary behaviour muſt have the happieſt influence on the youth over whom he preſides. It will be unneceſſary for us to recommend it to you, becauſe we are certain it is your own inclination, to drown all your cares and the thoughts of the indignities you ſuffer, in that beſt friend, a brimmer. Let politicks be no longer your care.

——— *Satius cum Phylide ludere in umbra;*
Teque, Lyæe pater, lætis celebrare choræis.
Novit enim Bacchus curas depellere, novit
Præteriti ſenſus abolere metumque futuri.

THE INHABITANTS OF BARATARIA.

LETTER VIII.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.

SIR, *Dec.* 30, 1769.

THE right of the houſe of commons to reject bills has never been denied by the moſt ſhameful ſycophants, not even by the Caſtle itſelf; nor has it been ever aſſerted, that a money bill is exempted from this right. It has never been aſſerted, that a bill which grants the treaſure of the nation is the only bill the nation cannot refuſe, or that thoſe meaſures which are moſt intereſting to

our being are above our determination. The very miniſters, who introduce this bill to the houſe, ſubmit it to the ſenſe of parliament; and allow, tho' the approbation of the houſe be expedient, its negative is conſtitutional. The law of Poynings requires a bill to be certified as a reaſon for aſſembling an Iriſh parliament; but the law of Poynings does not require, and the reaſon of the conſtitution forbids, that a money-bill ſhould be certified. Does the law of Poynings, by requiring the Council to certify ſome bill, enable it to certify any bill? Does it let that body looſe upon the ſacred property of the Commons, and remove even the ſhadow of an Engliſh conſtitution? It only gives power to the Council, but it does not unappropriate that power which the conſtitution has excluſively given the Commons, much leſs does it condemn the Commons to an aſſent, and inſult them by the mockery only of a conſultation. Senſible of this the houſe of commons rejected a money-bill, and aſſigned as their motive the place of its origination. In this proceeding what was there unconſtitutional? The exertion of their negative was not ſo; or if the houſe had aſſerted an excluſive property in originating grants of money, their reſolution as little would have been unconſtitutional. But they did not aſſert this right. They aſſigned their reaſons, without aſcertaining or declaring the law of the land. They did not call the miſrepreſentations of Poynings' law, illegal; they only refuſed to give them their approbation. They have not violated any law, or invaded the privileges of any of the eſtates; but they are not obliged to

ſanctify

ſanctify with their approbation the pretenſions, or even the exiſtence of a privy-council: and becauſe they refuſed to do this, a proteſt was iſſued againſt them, and the parliament was prorogued. How comes it that the people of Ireland muſt not only obey, but muſt not dare to diſlike? How comes it that we muſt not preſume to frown on our fetters, or murmur with modeſty at the indignity of bondage? Can this kingdom be ſaid to have a parliament? Or what is an Iriſh parliament, if they exiſt but by a charter of ſubmiſſion, and are annihilated as ſoon as they become the ſervants of the publick? If, after diſpatching the buſineſs of government, after making new grants to the Crown, after impoſing new burdens upon themſelves, in gratitude for their liberality, and conſolation for their expences, they are to be prorogued for exerting their rights, and maintaining their conſtitution, better have no parliament than the mere form of an eſtate, which paſſes its ſenſe at its peril, and can only enſure its continuance by betraying its truſt. We have incurred the wrath of miniſtry for one inſtance of oppoſition; and our crime is, the honour of rejecting a bill, which had been fatal to our conſtitution, which was unneceſſary to government, and which we had a right to reject. We now are informed by adminiſtration that our independency is criminal, and that our virtue is offenſive to our gracious ſovereign.——We are told that we have a Britiſh conſtitution, but we muſt not aſpire to the ſpirit of it; we are aſſembled to be the agents of miniſtry, and ſhall continue as long as venality and infamy make us

precious to adminiſtration. We feel that we have a parliament by the anarchy of a general election, and we learn that we have a faithful parliament by its prorogation. This has been declared to us by the proceedings of Tueſday laſt, and if any thing can equal the iniquity, it is the folly of this meaſure. What could be ſo impolitick as to incenſe another country, and make Ireland concur with Great-Britain in an abhorrence of the preſent miniſtry? The Lord Lieutenant was ſo conſcious of the audacity and folly of this meaſure, that he remained in his palace, counterfeiting infirmities, curſing the winds, and belying the arguments of his own ſervants, while he pondered on the execution of a meaſure, by which he has loſt himſelf in this kingdom for ever—a meaſure which will ſend him back to his native country, accompanied with the curſes of ours; for I do not ſuppoſe he will once more face an exaſperated parliament, or call upon the ſenſe of an inſulted people. It is our conſolation, however, that our injuries muſt be odious to the people of England; becauſe they are a free people, and becauſe they abhor the miniſtry that impoſe theſe injuries. There is no time therefore when our redreſs will be more popular, or our oppreſſors more feeble; we join our complaints to thoſe of Great-Britain, and, like that kingdom, we have the virtue to be oppreſſed by the common enemy.

POSTHUMUS.

LETTER

LETTER IX.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY LORD VISC. TOWNSHEND.

MY LORD, *Jan.* 9, 1770.

YOU may possibly think it hard to be censured for a measure, which you are supposed to have condemned; you may think yourself rescued in your political impotence from the detestation of this kingdom. It is your defence, my lord, that you have no weight on the other side of the water, that you are not the adviser of our ruin, but have the merit of being only the executioner of the rights of parliament.

BUT this country has not so entirely forgotten the dignity of the representative of majesty (though your lordship has resided above two years among us) as to admit that contemptuous opinion you seem to aspire to. It beholds you as the only prominent feature of mal-administration in this kingdom, and therefore the only object of publick indignation; and we pay you the compliment to esteem you a criminal, rather than the base drudge of an English minister, who despises and disgraces you; it is therefore, my lord, the full odium of the measure of the 26th of December falls upon you, and that your lordship cannot depart from this country with the good fortune of only being an object of its contempt. The legality of the conduct of the Commons does not require any further arguments; it has

been every where diſcuſſed, and except at court every where acknowledged: to proteſt therefore againſt the rights of a kingdom was an outrageous meaſure, ſuch as the preſent miniſtry alone could have inſiſted on, ſuch as your lordſhip alone could have executed. You ſay you had orders; I believe you had orders: but as there are terms on which no honeſt man will accept an employment, ſo are there terms on which no honeſt man will continue in one; and the Engliſh miniſter, who could compel lord Townſhend to execute the worſt orders, could not compel lord Townſhend to continue Lord Lieutenant. This nation does not pay the chief governour an immenſe ſalary purely for the honour of beholding him; nor does it mean that he ſhould be a mere cypher of ſtate, unable to ſerve, and obſequious to injure us. We looked for protection not violation in your lordſhip, and you have not anſwered the purpoſe of your magiſtracy, in being the channel to let in upon this kingdom the tyrannick adminiſtration of another. You have deſtroyed yourſelf among us by the conduct you have purſued. I will ſuppoſe that you had purſued another conduct, and inſtead of endeavouring to keep your employment upon any terms, that you had laid it down, when ignominious terms were propoſed. The conſequence muſt have been that you would have been recalled, as you will now be recalled; but recalled with honour, not infamy. You would have been careſſed by this kingdom with the raptures of gratitude, and you would have been received with acclamation by another, who muſt have admired a

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ſpark of liberty in a breaſt where it was ſo little expected; and who would have applauded you the more, becauſe recommended by the ſanction of miniſterial diſpleaſure. And for what more worthy object have you rejected the applauſe of nations? For the approbation of an adminiſtration ſo odious, that no honeſt man, ſo precarious, that no wiſe man, would have ſupported it. This adminiſtration if it continues, no doubt, will reward you; you may obtain a ſinecure which you cannot diſgrace, or you may obtain ſome place where dignity and decency and capacity would have been ſuperfluous; or, to inſult this kingdom ſtill more, you may become a penſioner on its eſtabliſhment, and be judiciouſly placed on that liſt where guilt is meritorious. You came to this kingdom at a time that was fortunate for your lordſhip; for you came when a graceleſs familiarity might have been popular, becauſe contraſted with the ſordid auſterity of your rapacious predeceſſor. But then, my lord, your incoherent conduct deſtroyed the advantage at this conjuncture. You came here to deſtroy the power of an old junto; and you declared that you yourſelf had no power. You came, my lord, to eſtabliſh government in Ireland on its own authority; and you gave the wages of government to thoſe who oppoſed government. You came to deſtroy *the undertakers* in this kingdom, and by your late meaſure you have made their party the party of the nation. Theſe men now, my lord, have deſtroyed you. Your inſight into men ſeems to equal your inſight into meaſures; and you have brought into parliament,

for their parliamentary talents, men who have no parliamentary talents: your elect could not defend your measures, but they could embarrass your lordship by abusing all your connection.* My lord, the genius of your administration seems to have been a rage of unbecoming inconsistency, and your government has been surprizing to all men, and to all bodies of men, from the sacred person who fills the throne, to the gazing throng who wonder at your relaxation of all dignity—The nation must have been surprized to behold your lordship proscribing a kingdom for its virtue, while the servants of government, who also opposed you, escaped the observation of your political vigilance; the nation must have been likewise surprized upon a former occasion, when after obtaining applause for assenting to an Octennial Bill, you exclaimed against that bill, and corrected an undeserved popularity by entering a private protest against your own measures; and, my lord, it has not been the least of your absurdities, that your private declarations have been libels on your conduct.——Your gracious master I make no doubt was surprized when he heard that the deputy of a king (and give me leave to remind you, a pious and a decent king) had abandoned his sovereign, his office, and himself; and that at a drunken feast, with drunken aldermen, the representative of majesty was seen to squabble with age and infirmity, without any other excuse but your Excellency's intoxication.

* Mr. S——t, who was brought into parliament by lord Townshend, shortly after he was introduced into the house, made a violent invective against the English ministry.

toxication. You yourſelf, my lord, muſt have been ſurprized, when, in the preſence of the whole nation, your ſecretary thought proper to diſclaim all connection with his maſter, and diſavowed your lordſhip in vindication of his character——Strange, my lord, that your conduct ſhould not only be the moſt outrageous, but the moſt fooliſh and indecent thing imaginable!

YOUR friends, my lord, may poſſibly ſay, "what "could this weak and capricious man have done? "Placed as he is infinitely above his pretenſions, "could he preſcribe the terms of his ſtation? He who "had been ſo uſeleſs to miniſtry, ſhould he have af- "terwards embarraſſed them? Should ſuch a man "dare to be conſcientious, and become refractory "as well as helpleſs?" The people will anſwer your friends, that incapacity ſhould have been a pledge for inoffenſiveneſs, and that you ſhould not have injured a kingdom you had not abilities to govern; that you ſhould have compenſated for the weakneſs of your adminiſtration by a glorious concluſion, and after ſo many indecencies, and ſo many abſurdities, your lordſhip ſhould have made one effort at reputation.

POSTHUMUS.

LETTER. X.

TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

Jan. 20, 1770.

THAT the conduct of your repreſentatives ſhould be laid fairly before you, is of

as much importance to you as to them. A houſe of parliament has been condemned, and a nation has been puniſhed: the laws have been violated by the houſe of commons, or they have been falſified by his majeſty's repreſentative; and the innocence of the one is the guilt of the other. You are to conſider no leſs a queſtion, than whether the guardians of the laws have preſumed to infringe them, or whether a libel has been uttered from the throne.

The Commons have rejected a money-bill, and have added this reſolution, "Reſolved, that the "ſaid bill is rejected, becauſe it did not take its riſe "in this houſe." The chief governour has arraigned their conduct from the throne, and has cenſured this reſolution as "being contrary to the 10th of "Henry VII. and to the 3d and 4th of Philip and "Mary." If then this vote and reſolution do *not* contradict theſe laws, it follows that the charge upon your repreſentatives is falſe and libellous, and that the falſhood is criminal in proportion to the dignity of the body which it calumniates, and dangerous in proportion to the authority which gives it ſanction.

Let us then allow for a moment every interpretation which our enemies have given to thoſe ſtatutes, and forget their hiſtory and their true meaning. We ſhall find the cauſe of the chief governour ſo deplorable, that, even admitting that explanation of thoſe ſtatutes which curtails the rights of the Commons the moſt, the conduct of the Commons will ſtill be juſtified and his Excellency's muſt ſtill be condemned. I will allow then for argument's

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ſake that there is no difference between a ſupply-bill and any other law, and that by the law of Poyñings and of Philip and Mary, the Council have an undoubted right to give riſe to a money-bill without any ſuggeſtion from the Commons. The bill then was certified by an aſſembly, who had a right to give riſe to it; and had as legal an origin as if it had been firſt propoſed in the houſe of Commons. That any of the three eſtates of parliament may reject a bill ſo certified, no man will deny. But the lord lieutenant has aſſerted that the vote and reſolution, wherein the Commons aſſign their reaſon for rejecting the bill propoſed to them, are contrary to Poynings' law, and 3d and 4th of Philip and Mary. In what terms then ſhall we ſpeak of the treatment we have received, if it ſhall appear that there is not one word in that reſolution which contradicts any expoſition of theſe ſtatutes? Yet perhaps ſo manifeſt a truth has never been brought into queſtion. Had the Commons aſſerted that they *only* had a right to give riſe to money-bills, then indeed they would have denied an explanation which ſome perſons have made of the laws of this country. But they did not make ſuch an aſſertion; they did not deny the powers which have been aſcribed to the privy council of giving riſe to money-bills; but they did not eſteem that mode of granting the moſt deſerving of their approbation.

Of two methods equally legal the one may be preferable to the other; and it is their right and duty to conſider expediency as well as legality. The propoſition of a money-bill from the Council may be

be as lawful as the propoſition of ſuch a bill from the Commons; but what follows from this conceſſion? That the two modes are equally legal, but not that they are equally eligible. Allowing them to be equal in point of law, there may be other reſpects in which they may not be equal; and if ſuch be the opinion of the Commons, may they not reject the one method perpetually upon that principle, and give the other method a perpetual preference? If I refuſe a requeſt from a diſapprobation of the perſon who makes it or of his method of aſking, or if I ſay that I will not give any thing becauſe the firſt movement did not ſpring from myſelf, but from another perſon, does it follow from thence that I deny that perſon's right to aſk of me?——He has a right to aſk, let him uſe it. But I will not give any thing upon ſuch a requeſt.—Had the Commons gone further than they did, and had added another reſolution that they never would paſs a money-bill which did not take its riſe in their houſe, even this would not have contradicted his Excellency's expoſition of the laws of Poynings and Philip and Mary; it would be only declaring the uſe they would make of their undoubted power of rejection, without denying the power of propoſition which the Council has claimed. But ſo far is the reſolution of the Commons from contradicting the laws we ſpeak of, that a man, who agreed without our enemies in their expoſition of them, might alſo agree with the reſolution of the Commons. Nay, that very expoſition might be made a part of that reſolution, and embodied in the ſame ſentence, and yet the reſolution would remain perfectly conſiſtent.

Suppoſe

Suppoſe for example the reſolution had been worded thus; "Reſolved, that the ſaid bill is rejected, "because it did not take its riſe in this houſe, but "in the privy council, who certified it according to "Poynings' law, and the 3d and 4th of Philip and "Mary, which we confeſs to be a legal, but do not "eſteem to be the moſt eligible method of giving "riſe to bills of ſupply." Here is the power of the council aſſerted in the ſame ſentence with the reſolution of the commons. How do they contradict? where is their inconſiſtency? Have we not here a proof, equal even to mathematical demonſtration, of the falſhood of the chief governor's aſſertion. Let his friends then ſpare themſelves the trouble of torturing the ſtatutes; let them have mercy upon law, hiſtory, and common ſenſe. Their expoſitions may injure their country, but cannot ſerve their patron.

Such has been the crime of the parliament; and what has been the puniſhment of the nation? Be not amuſed with the expectation of a meeting in March. You ſee already that the conduct of the commons was but the pretext of the laſt prorogation. The chief governor feared then to meet the parliament, and will he dare to meet them now with an impeachment over his head? Depend upon it, you will have no meeting in March, unleſs your repreſentatives undergo ſuch a change, that their meeting will be more injurious than their prorogation.——You cannot give credit to a tale, which it is his intereſt to propagate; and you know that even he is capable of the miſerable arts of falſhood

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and diſſimulation :—miſerable arts indeed, and now more than ever degraded, ſince even he has practiſed them with ſucceſs. You cannot again be deceived by his artifices, nor can you ſo groſsly miſtake the genius of the Engliſh Miniſtry.

What then is the condition of this country? The interruption of publick works, and the abſolute decay of ſome, the ruin of the ſilk manufacture, which as yet exiſts but by the premium, the wound to the trade of the metropolis, the bankruptcy of the Dublin Society, the expiration of temporary ſtatutes, and the ſupport of publick charities, are but trivial conſiderations when compared to the ſuſpenſion of an active, uncorrupted parliament, to the lapſe of four years without one act except a ſupply-bill, to the violation of truth even from the throne, to the intimidation of future virtue, to the degradation of your parliament, and to the inſult which has been offered to your underſtanding. Nor will this be the only conſequence, if we may credit general report, or ſpeculate upon the conduct of inconſiſtent men. A general election, the inconveniencies of which you bear to enſure virtue in your repreſentatives, will now be made the puniſhment of their virtue; and you will find that your parliament is to exiſt only while it is ſervile. Many there are, who think this meaſure too mad even for Townſhend to adviſe, or Grafton to enjoin.——— They obſerve that the ſupporters of government would ſuffer more than its opponents.——But from the return which our late liberalities have obtained, let them judge of the weight which gratitude will

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have with this Miniſtry.——They remark, that the rights of the crown, if invaded have been aſſerted as fully by the proteſt, as if a diſſolution were to follow; and that perſonal reſentment could be the only motive for ſuch a procedure.——But let them reflect, that the prorogation was alſo wanton and unneceſſary; and from the tranſactions in a ſiſter kingdom let them judge how far perſonal reſentment can infect publick meaſures. The Miniſtry will not fail to conſider, that there are ſtill two millions of ſubjects, whoſe affections they have not been able to detach from their ſovereign. They will not miſs ſuch an opportunity of offending, as the exertion of a prerogative againſt the virtues of one nation, whilſt they refuſe it to the ſupplications of another. The clan, which ſurrounds the throne, will not ſpare a weakneſs which they may injure with impunity, nor pardon an hereditary loyalty, which inſults the novelty of their own converſions. In ſuch a ſituation, you will ſhew them by the choice you ſhall make, how far it is convenient to oppreſs you; how far you will gratify your oppreſſors, by concurring with them in the puniſhment of the innocent. That ſenſe of honour for which you have been diſtinguiſhed, will inflict a heavy diſappointment upon miniſterial malice; party and connection will be loſt in the greater conſideration—— that no man ſhould ſuffer for his fidelity.——But an upright choice alone will not be ſufficient; you will then have a recent inſtruction, that the independence of a parliament is the ſure prognoſtick of its diſſolution.——The unexampled generoſity of this

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nation has obtained no recompence; you have no other reſource but in your power——inſtruct your future repreſentatives, that they grant the ſupplies for ſix months, only, in the firſt inſtance. Rely not upon thoſe who have oppreſſed and deceived you, but upon yourſelves, and your conſtitutional powers. If the people themſelves be deficient in virtue or in ſpirit, let them not expect either in any of the branches of the legiſlature. They have a thouſand little intereſts which contend with their publick virtue; but the people at large can have none. Let the powers of the conſtitution be made uſe of to ſecure its benefits.—It is better to have no parliament than an aſſembly that has power to burden you, but is ſure to expire if it attempts to ſerve. If ſuch be the maxim by which you are governed, parliament itſelf becomes an uſeleſs incumbrance, and the conſtitution of England is adopted in vain.

I OMIT to examine the legality of intruding the proteſt of the chief governour into the journals of an houſe of parliament. Thoſe who have read the proteſt * of the Lords, will not be at a loſs what to think of that meaſure. Neither ſhall I examine each particular folly which the ſpeech and the proteſt contain; I am not very ambitious of ſuch victories over his lordſhip, and I leave them, and the wretched being who delivered them, to the opinion which the world has already formed. With ſuch important concerns before us, he is not worth our attention. The creature of an abandoned miniſter has no character of his own, except the infamy of having

* See the Appendix, No. 1. 3.

having become that creature. His conduct on the Judges-bill has been a sufficient gratification for his personal enemies; and if his personal character only had been concerned, I should not have shewn such a superfluity of malice, as to prove the delegate of one falshood to be the author of another. I should have treated him with that contemptuous lenity, which hitherto has tolerated his administration; which was ready to call his caprice and rashness, the effusions of his heart, and to give the name of candour to the looseness of his tongue. The only part of his administration which we should call his own, is his peculiar ingratitude to this nation; a nation which received him with such a partiality, that they seemed to have drank oblivion to every former action of his life, from the time when he pilfered the fame of his general, before the wounds of the conqueror, or the tears of his soldiers, had ceased to flow, to the day when he offered to cram the stampt-act down the throats of the Americans. We expected perhaps no uncommon danger from a man who had not address to influence, or dignity to engage. Our passions are seldom violent against the object of our contempt; and we are indulgent to the unthinking soldier, though soldiers are not always unwilling enemies to liberty, and though folly be not always undesigning. The same uncommon fortune, which once gave him the dregs of a victory, sent him into this kingdom at a time when any man would be popular; and he has paid to our generosity the same honest tribute that he gave to the *manes* of his former benefactor. From this wretch-

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ed ſyſtem of government we muſt appeal to our conſtitutional ſtrength, and to the wiſdom and generoſity of our ſiſter-country. At the commencement of thoſe arbitrary meaſures, which cauſed the laſt revolution, the Engliſh took the firſt alarm from the oppreſſion of Scotland; they will now ſee the diſpoſition of their governors in this country, where fear has not confined it. Our ſituation will warn them of their danger, if, in their own, they want a monitor.

POSTHUMUS.

LETTER XI.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY LORD VISCOUNT TOWNSHEND.

MY LORD, *Feb.* 3, 1770.

NOTWITHSTANDING your publick conduct, this nation has obligations to you; and we ſhould be the moſt ungrateful people on earth if we did not return you thanks, for adminiſtering to us the comfort of deſpiſing you. We thank you, my lord, that if you have been odious, you have been deſpicable alſo; and we acknowledge that of the many thouſands you have injured by your conduct, there is not one man, who does not inſult you with his compaſſion, and look down on your perſon with all the ſuperiority of ſcorn and indignation. We muſt have expired under your meaſures if we had not

not this ſecret ſatisfaction of contemplating your character, and conſidering the humility of your deſtiny, that muſt never aſpire to any thing more exalted than hatred, mitigated by deriſion. Our ſenſe of injury is ſomewhat appeaſed, when in Council we behold you in the capacity of a political anarch, preſiding over the miſrule of your own adminiſtration; or when we ſee you deſerting the Council, and at the moſt important criſis, forſaking the buſineſs of the nation for the ſports of the field. We pity that intellectual hurricane that has driven you through the diſcharge of your duty with ſo much impropriety, and now drives you from the diſcharge of your duty with ſo much indecency; and really, my lord, if your were not our chief governour, you are moſt undoubtedly entitled to a ſtation below our reſentment.

We, my lord, who have beheld your predeceſſors, thought nothing at this time could be new in a Lord Lieutenant, except virtue. Raſhneſs could not aſtoniſh a people who had ſeen the duke of Bedford; weakneſs could not aſtoniſh a people who had ſeen the duke of Northumberland; and a deſpicable character ceaſed to be a novelty, for we had not forgotten lord Hertford: but there remained one innovation in politicks, which we had no conception of; a man who had all the defects of theſe great perſonages without the allay of their virtues, who was raſh, weak, and contemptible, but was not intrepid, ſplendid, or decent; a man who had not ſpirit to aſſert government, and yet was audacious enough to violate the conſtitution; whoſe manners

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were ludicrous, whoſe perſon was deſpiſed, whoſe diſpoſition was vehemence without firmneſs, and whoſe conduct was not ſteady oppreſſion, but rather the tremour of tyranny; ſuch a man could not have been foreſeen; but at length the miracle was produced, and this phænomenon at the Caſtle appeared in your lordſhip.

I WILL ſuppoſe the time arrived, when you have departed this kingdom; I will ſuppoſe that you have eſcaped the ſcoffs, hiſſes, inſults, reproaches, and the thouſand other indignities that are probably prepared for your retreat; and that your *midnight* expedition has been ſucceſsfull. I will ſuppoſe, alſo, that you are honoured with an audience, and addreſs the ear of your ſovereign in the following manner.

"THE people of Ireland are inclined to oppoſition; you muſt check this contagion of Britiſh ſpirit. Their patriotiſm is faction, and their publick ſpirit an outrage on majeſty, in the perſon of his repreſentative; no viceroy, for no king can pleaſe them. You muſt ſuppreſs this reſtleſs and ſeditious people; you muſt overawe this aſpiring ſpirit into an unſcrupulous compliance; and by a ſteady arrogance, you muſt maintain in that kingdom the dignity of government, and the rights of the crown of Great-Britain."

HAVING ſurmiſed what your Excellency will ſay to your king, I ſhall now ſuggeſt to you what you ought to ſay.

"PARDON

"PARDON me, my liege, for I have disgraced my station; I have sported with your royal commission, and have misrepresented your sacred person. There was neither wisdom in my counsel, nor dignity in my manner, nor uniformity in my conduct; my lenity was a suspence between my fears and my disposition; and my violence was an outrage, not a victory. I was the slave of your minister, not the servant of my sovereign; infamously obsequious, indecently familiar. In me, the royal character has sunk into contempt, and the feelings of the heart have degenerated into folly. I have exasperated the loyalty of your best subjects, and have extended to Ireland the fatality of your ministers. Let me, for once, surprize your royal ear with the voice of truth, and let the penitence of a political reprobate extenuate his iniquities.—Your subjects of Ireland are neither servile, nor seditious; your ministry cannot detach them from your family, and neglect has not chilled the glow of their loyalty. With a desperate liberality they have contributed to your auspicious house, and have strained with pride under the illustrious incumbrance; rejoicing that their sovereign did not disdain their offering, and that he dignified their poverty by his royal condescension.

"IT is on account of this loyalty they resent their injuries, with an honest indignation; and the severest of all injuries is,—the men who have been sent to govern them: these viceroys have destroyed that kingdom: you sent them to govern; they went to plunder, and transported legions of hunger to

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that devoted territory. Unhappy kingdom! it has felt government in the vices of its governours, not in the protection of its king; it has been appropriated for a ſeries of years to the bad qualities of the worſt of the nobility, and has languiſhed under the diſtracting viciſſitudes of ſhifting plunderers; the headſtrong proſtitution of Bedford; the mean oſtentation of Northumberland; the black auſpices of Hertford; the momentary harpies in Briſtol and Weymouth; and now the wayward Townſhend: the laſt, and hardly the worſt of theſe national calamities.

"We have diſqualified the Iriſhman, becauſe he was not an alien, and we have laid his country under contribution, for the ſupport and encouragement of penſioned villany. Accordingly, polluted with the imprecations of an unhappy and an expiring people, we have returned to our monarch from the ſport of deſolation, to abuſe the ear of the beſt of kings, and belie the allegiance of a faithful people.

"BUT there is no grievance which has lain ſo heavy at their heart, no miſrepreſentation they eſteem ſo fatal, as a late proteſt againſt their right, and the falſe arguments, by which this proteſt is ſuggeſted. They lament that privilege has been called an invaſion of prerogative; and that the ſubmiſſion of parliament has been declared the undoubted right of the crown. They conceive that their parliament, by aſſigning its reaſons, does not invade *that* conſtitution which the proteſt ſuppoſes: and they

they conceive that this proteſt ſuppoſes a wrong conſtitution. They know they did once poſſeſs an Engliſh conſtitution, and that ſuch a one appropriates to the commons an excluſive money bill. They thought that Poyning's law did not expreſs a money-bill, and that, conſtruction was no more to avail againſt privilege, than againſt prerogative. Explication cannot abridge the rights of the Crown; and with all humility they preſume that explication as little can abridge the rights of the people. They know how fatal may be a breach of a conſtitutional maxim; and fear if it is not ſacred in favour of parliament, it may not be inviolable in the inſtance of majeſty. Their reſolution, they imagine does not come under the opinion of the Judges *; or if it did, the wiſdom of Judges has not always been infallible, nor the integrity of Judges always invincible; or if they are to ſubmit their conſtitution to any authority, it is to the authority of an Engliſh parliament, who think that the Engliſh conſtitution (Poyning's law has not taken that) is eſſentially deſtroyed by dividing this excluſive right of the commons. They did not think that privileges, ſo conſtitutionally exerted, and always exerted in your favour, could be very alarming; and they hope the demands of the council on the commons will not be more acceptable to their ſovereign, than the ſpontaneous offering of a free people, too well affected to invade your prerogative. They imagine, that their patriotiſm, ſo chaſtiſed by allegiance, cannot offend their gracious ſo-

* In 1692.

vereign, or endanger the rights of the crown of Great Britain.

"IRELAND encourages no faction, entertains no jealouſy; ſhe will ever preſerve her attachment, even under the preſent adminiſtration will ſhe preſerve it; but ſhe expects protection likewiſe; and requeſts her loyalty may not be made an effort."

ANONYMOUS,

LETTER XII.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY LORD VISCOUNT TOWNSHEND.

MY LORD,

YOUR anceſtors were lovers of liberty. You entered the world with a reſpectable paternal name. It was worth your while to take care that it ſhould deſcend unimpaired to poſterity.

You have had the misfortune to have many enemies, or many faults; for you have been much cenſured. If you aſk me how could ſuch a man, as the perſons, whom you call your enemies, deſcribe, be appointed to the lieutenancy of Ireland, I will not anſwer with them, that you were appointed by an adminiſtration, the only uniform object of which has been to injure or inſult every part of the Britiſh dominions; that no other man would truſt them, or that they would not have truſted you; that they knew you to be as pliant, as incapable;

and

and that you would pledge yourſelf to the publick without a bluſh, for what you knew would never be performed. Theſe are great conſiderations.—But ſomething more was neceſſary. You had a brother: a prodigy of parts! In other particulars you may have reſembled him. They would not make him the miniſter in England, and therefore they made you a viceroy here.

You began your reign by a publick falſehood, and promiſed, in the ſpeech from the throne, a law for eſtabliſhing the independence of Judges. A bill with ſuch a title came indeed from Great Britain; but in ſuch a form, that not one man was found ſo profligate as to defend it. Your hirelings have not inſinuated that this was any ſpecies of performance; and therefore I will not prove that it was an aggravated breach of faith. You gave us however what you did not promiſe; the Octennial bill. Notwithſtanding this accidental difference, there was a perfect ſimilitude in your ſentiments with reſpect to theſe two laws; for you *intended* to give neither. As your inclination was the ſame, ſo your wiſdom with reſpect to them was equal. You had the reproach of non-performance as to the one, without the honour of performance as to the other; and you tacked a diſſolution of parliament to the Octennial-bill, to aſſiſt you in carrying the Augmentation. Do not complain that you are charged with the inſertion of the clauſe concerning the diſſolution. You muſt ſubmit to be reſponſible for every meaſure reſpecting the country, whilſt you ſubmit to govern it. Such however was the eaſineſs of parliament, that this promiſe which was

not performed, and this performance which was not intended, though they could not clothe your adminiſtration with ſucceſs, protected it for one ſeſſion from indignity.

YOUR government had but one object; the augmentation of the army. I ſhall not enter into the merits of that meaſure, for I fear I ſhould differ with too great an authority. Your profeſſional partialities too ſhould be indulged. But let me queſtion your diſcretion. You propoſed the meaſure in your firſt ſeſſion of parliament; but not till you had alienated the perſons, by whom you might have been ſure to have carried it. A conteſt aroſe between Engliſh government, and an Iriſh confederacy; and you made the *augmentation* the ground on which they fought. Let us compare the ſtate of theſe reſpective parties at that time, and at preſent; and ſee how far your ability has encreaſed or your inſufficience has diminiſhed, the ſtrength of government.

YOU contended the firſt ſeſſion at an unlucky juncture. An augmentation of the army after the committee of ſupply was cloſed, which was neceſſary to provide for an additional expence;—in a time of profound peace, when troops are the leaſt requiſite;—ſoon after a barbarous uſe had been made of the military in England, and an unconſtitutional one in America;—when the faith of government with reſpect to the judges-bill had not been maintained;—and juſt upon the verge of a general election. This in point of time and circumſtance, I ſay. independent even of the meaſure

ſure, was unfavourable ground. And on this ground and in favour of ſuch a meaſure, with what an hoſt had you to contend? With the extended connexion, the revenue influence, and the popular manners of one leader; with the compact force and the hereditary firmneſs of another; with the firſt title, the firſt name, and the firſt fortune of the nation, in a third—ſupported by the eſteem of the kingdom, by the popularity of the capital, by the parliamentary influence of a reputable phalanx, and by the calm inflexibility of his own determination. You had the craft of Tiſdall, and the rhetorick of Hutchinſon to oppoſe you. And beſides the reconciliated force of theſe formerly hoſtile connexions, and former hoſtile advocates, you had to cope with the ſtrength and reputation of an independent body, armed with the experience, the genius, the weight, and the popularity of their leaders. Government ſtood alone; unſupported indeed, but as yet not proſtituted by you; and Government alone was beat only by four,——— Thus ſtood the force of Government at the end of your firſt ſeſſion of parliament. How did it ſtand at the concluſion of the laſt.

You remained here for two years to lay ſiege to oppoſition. You made two ſummer progreſſes, but without advantage. I will not deſcribe theſe excurſions circumſtantially. Not only the page of hiſtory, but the newſpaper of the day, would be diſgraced by a detail of irregularities, as mean as capricious. You negociated with the powerful as if they were inſignificant; and with the honourable,

as if they were like yourſelf. You treated with every man in the ſame tone. No wonder you treated in vain. In two inſtances, you ſeemed to ſucceed. The old leaders of debate on the ſide of the court were ſeen again at the head of your troops; and the ruſty buckler of Tiſdall, and the ſcoured ſhield of Hutchinſon, were again held up in your defence. The wiſe however gave you no credit for this event. They did not allow you to have converted thoſe, who were never of a different perſuaſion. One grew conſcious that he was too old to oppoſe; and the other, that he was too *notorious* to oppoſe with effect. As a ſoldier you ſhould have puniſhed their former deſertion; as a ſtateſman you ſhould have prevented it.

WHAT was the end of all your preparations? From the beginning of the winter to the day on which you prorogued the parliament, ſo commendably, in every material queſtion, almoſt, you were defeated. After having had the power of the crown in your hands for two years, you were beat, on a critical motion, in the very laſt week of the laſt ſeſſion, by a majority eight or nine times as great as that by which you had been beaten in the former ſeſſion of parliament. An acceſſion of weakneſs, my lord, which furniſhes a proof of your talents for government; and ſhews that your ability is equal to your reputation. Neither does it apply ſolely to the eſtabliſhment of your character as a negociator. Without this example, who could have thought that your northern ſtar would have left you ſo benighted?

I WILL

I WILL not enumerate your miſcarriages, nor deſcribe the wounds they have given to government. I will ſpeak of that meaſure, in which alone you were ſucceſsful, the *augmentation* I mean; and if you were deficient there, what ſhall we ſay of your defeats? Management is ſometimes commendable, becauſe it is ſometimes neceſſary. You ſhould have remembered, my lord, that when Majeſty capitulates, it is ſcarcely Majeſty. You ſhould not therefore have expoſed your ſovereign to the unkingly neceſſity of hearing conditions from his people. The exceſſes of the ſtaff, and of abſentee penſions, might have been corrected by a ſpontaneous, not by a ſtipulated reduction. If his Majeſty were to deſcend too from his throne, and to relinquiſh a part of his prerogative in the diſpoſition of his troops, it ought not to have been done palpably to make terms, and to article for the augmentation. By our laws, the honour of a peer is equivalent to the moſt ſacred obligation; and by at leaſt equal reaſon, ſo is that of the king. You ſuggeſted a doubt of its ſufficiency. And by the proffer of your ſecretary, this ſacred obligation of your royal maſter was recited in the bill of ſupply, that his Majeſty in aſſenting to that law might give a bond for the performance of his honour; and regiſter the mortgage of his word in rolls of parliament. What atonement can you make to your degraded ſovereign? A confeſſion of folly will not be ſufficient. There are ſtations in which incapacity is criminal. You ſhould have explored your head and your heart, before you hazarded

the dignity of the crown on either. If you are not too worthleſs to have a friend, and too deſpicable to have an enemy, you might have found one, from whoſe kindneſs or from whoſe cenſure you might have extracted counſel. Unhappy man! And is this what you call ſucceſs? Is this the boaſt and triumph of your adminiſtration?

I HAVE ſpoken of that circumſtance of your government in which you exult. The reſt of it, and particularly the laſt act, which even you do not pretend to juſtify, I will reſerve for a future and diſtinct conſideration. But that we may be the leſs ſurpriſed, I will touch, in the mean time, on ſome other paſſages of your life.—You never affected publick ſpirit but once, and then you pretended to patronize the militia-bill in England. I am not going to charge you with tergiverſation, my lord, nor to urge in ſupport of that charge, that the ridicule of that law is now the favourite topick of your convivial moments. No, my lord, you are not an apoſtate. Some men are too dull for madneſs, and ſome too profligate for inconſiſtency. You never ſupported the militia-bill in truth; you only oppoſed the duke of Cumberland.

THERE is ſometimes a curioſity of caprice and abſurdity, which it is pleaſant to obſerve. You went into the army. I will not ſay, that it was the charm of order that caught you, or the regularity of military diſcipline that was conformable to your diſpoſition. You choſe it as a path of advancement. By the influence of your friends you were placed about the perſon of that great prince,

whom

whom I have juſt mentioned. He was revered by the publick. He will be characſtered to lateſt poſterity as an hero. He was caricatured once; and it was by your lordſhip. What tempted you to this extravagance? Was it that no contradiction might be wanting to your character? That, a ſoldier, you ſhould inſult your commander? That, a ſlave to power, you ſhould affront the favourite ſon of your monarch? That in his ſervice, and of his houſhold, you ſhould do, what a generous and ſober enemy would not attempt? Yet let me attribute it to the beſt motive. Let me aſcribe it only to the operation of levity. Implacability is not the characteriſtick of your mind. Let me rather celebrate *the forgiveneſs* of your temper; and inſtance, that colonel Luttrell has only been referred to the parliamentary correction of a political bravo, like himſelf; whilſt you ſpared his father, whom you had called to an unequal combat. But though I mention that moderation which your profeſſional prejudices could not overcome, I muſt mention that raſhneſs which higher conſiderations did not reſtrain. Why did you forget the monarch you repreſent? In the dwelling of the ſupreme magiſtrate of the metropolis, at a publick meeting, dedicated to peace, why did you launce the thunder of a reverſionary challange at a venerable member of parliament, decrepit with infirmity? The dulneſs and ſervility of aldermen cried ſhame upon you.

From the impartial obſerver let me become a monitor, my lord; and above all things let me

warn you againſt the avarice of fame. Nothing is ſo dangerous. I will make an error of your own my example. In your mind, I am told, it is your glory to have ſerved at Quebec. Take care that it may not be your ſhame. You were third in command under the great Wolfe. You ſaw the military hope of the Britiſh nation expire. A great man might have envied him his death. A fiend only could have envied him his glory. I appeal to your lordſhip; for in this you muſt be my teſtimony, as well as my theme. You ſaw him ſtruggling, according to his own expreſſion, with a choice of difficulties. You ſaw him bending under a complicated and encreaſing infirmity. He had a noble heart, a wiſe head, and a performing hand. In ſuch circumſtances, and by ſuch qualifications when you ſaw him become the idol of a fond nation, and of an applauding army; when you ſaw him ſmiling to death, becauſe it was accompanied by his country's victory; with what paſſion were you inſpired? Did the nobleneſs of emulation ſeize you? like Themiſtocles, did the triumphs of Militiades deprive you of repoſe? or, like Cæſar, did you weep over the tomb of Alexander? No. If you went to his grave, you went not to offer the applauſe of ſurviving heroiſm to the illuſtrious dead; but to ſupplant his monument, and defraud him of his fame.* How did

* I thought it unneceſſary to mention that you uſurped the province of your brother commander who ſurvived, as well as the fame of the departed; and with an ignorant, or arrogating hand, ſigned the capitulation, which ought to have been ſubſcribed

did the people of England feel, the untutored people? His death filled his country with lamentation. After a conſiderable interval, the remains of that great man landed in Great Britain. No honour, which the living can pay to the deceaſed, was omitted. As if victory ſtill followed him, the news of freſh conqueſt ſoon ſucceeded. Every part of the kingdom reſounded with congratulation, except one. The region adjacent to the reſidence of the venerable matron who had given him birth, was ſilent. An univerſal ſentiment of heroick compaſſion ſtruck the people. They ſtifled even publick joy, and would not ſuffer a ſound of triumph to invade the ſolemnity of her juſt grief. Thus did that undiſtinguiſhing multitude, whom you affect to deſpiſe, mark their veneration for their departed hero; whilſt you, my lord, a brother ſoldier, and connected with him in command, had the juſtice and generoſity to endeavour to defame him.

SINDERCOMBE.

LETTER XIII.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY LORD VISCOUNT TOWNSHEND.

MR LORD, *March* 3, 1770.

WITHOUT being a Petronius, I flatter myſelf that I might add to the elegance

ſcribed and ratified by the ſignature of the ſecond in command. If it were abſurdity, we are uſed to overlook it in your lordſhip; and if it were intentional, an injury to the living is more eaſily to be forgiven, than inhumanity to the dead.

elegance of your pleaſures. Your feſtivity has ſometimes been ſuſpected of diſorder, and your recreations of indelicacy. You have ſomething therefore in this particular to retrieve; and if you have raiſed any expectation by the advertiſement of a fancied ball, you have that expectation alſo to ſatisfy. My principles will not ſuffer me to defend your government; but I have no animoſity to prevent me from contributing to your amuſements.

The ladies and gentlemen who performed in a late elegant entertainment*at the Park, diſtinguiſhed you, I am told, by a particular invitation, and exempted you from the Dramatis Perſonæ. This was meant as a compliment, no doubt, though perhaps it was injurious to your lordſhip: for every body allows, if you would condeſcend to appear in the farce, that you could have acted one part perfectly, without departing from your uſual ſobriety. This however was in another perſon's houſe; and ſuch an exemption might there have been accepted by you, without the imputation of arrogance or ruſticity. But in your own houſe you are too polite, I am confident, not to conform to the regulation, to which you have ſubjected your company. Neither do I ſuppoſe that you would wiſh, on all occaſions, to be merely a ſpectator of the follies of this country. Notwithſtanding therefore

* The play of Tamerlane, with the farce of Lethe, performéd at the houſe of Luke Gardiner, Eſq; in the Phœnix Park near Dublin.

fore the weight of publick care, under which you ſometimes find it difficult to ſtand, you muſt be a little ſolícitous about the dreſs in which you are to appear that evening; and as, in the figurative ſtile of your court, you have *poſtponed* your ball to a ſhorter day, I wiſh, in this hurry, to aſſiſt your imagination.

THERE are characters you will avoid. You will not appear like Mars, notwithſtanding your atchievements. I would not have you appear like any deity; nor, though Comus be one of your miniſters, would I have you exhibit in a Circæan diſguiſe. The middle path of the human ſhape will be ſafeſt; and omitting the antiquated heroics of Greece and Rome, I would recommend to your lordſhip the character of a mere modern. Nay, I would carry the peculiarity, and (forgive me) the patriotiſm of the entertainment to the greateſt height in your own perſon; and as the dreſſes of all your company are to be of Iriſh manufacture, I would have both your dreſs and your character Iriſh. You do not intend to appear as our tutelar, ſaint, or, in appointing your day, you would not have avoided the ſeventeenth of March. That however will be a day of jollity without any particular induſtry; and perhaps, like Titus, you did not care to loſe a day.—Upon what principle will you adopt your character? On the principle of contraſt, or on that of reſemblance? Will you be a Swift, or an Uſher?—A Nangle or a Loane? In the one caſe, the Prime Serjeant may accompany you in the character of a patriot, and

your

your friend Andrews may be dreſſed as Provoſt of Trinity College. In the other, your new labourer in the vineyard, Mr. Scott, may officiate as high prieſt to the temple of Hadlock, and the biſhop of Corke may point to the altar with a fair communicant in his hand.

THUS, my lord, have I endeavoured to aid your fancy; concluding that this is not a miniſterial meaſure, but a matter of amuſement. For whatever your enemies may ſay, I cannot think that even you are ſo infatuated as to imagine, that the injuries of a nation are to be expiated by a dance; or the clamours of an exaſperated people to be ſilenced by the ludicrous buſtle of groteſque preparations for a fantaſtick meeting.

SINDERCOMBE.

LETTER XIV.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.

SIR, *March* 3, 1770.

I SEND you incloſed a ſummary of political faith, which the Prime Serjeant aſſures me is *as clear as the day-light*; it is indeed ſo entirely conformable to the ſentiments, which I have heard him deliver in the Houſe of Commons, on a queſtion of *perhaps as great importance as ever was agitated in that great aſſembly*, that no one, I think, who knows the candour and ſincerity of that gentleman,

tleman, can any longer have any doubts on this hitherto myſterious ſubject.

I am, Sir, your humble Servant,
ATHANASIUS SECUNDUS.

THE COURTIER'S CREED FOR THE YEAR 1770.

1. WHOSOEVER would be an HIBERNIAN COURTIER, it is now neceſſary, before all mental endowments, that he expound rightly the law of Poynings, as explained by the fourth and fifth chapters of Philip and Mary.

2. WHICH interpretation, unleſs he keeps pure and unmixed with any rational interpretation, unqueſtionably he cannot enjoy place, or penſion, neither ſhall he receive concordatum in this kingdom.

3. NOW the true conſtruction of Poynings' law is, that four different branches of the legiſlature are always to be acknowledged in one Iriſh Privy Council conſtantly ſubſiſting.

4. FOR in the enacting of every law, the King hath a deliberative voice, the Lords have a deliberative, the Commons have a deliberative, and the Privy Council have a deliberative.

5. THE King hath a negative voice, the Lords a negative, the Commons a negative, and the Council a negative.

6. AND yet there are not four deliberatives, or four negatives, but one deliberative, and one negative,

tive, frequently exerciſed againſt King, Lords, and Commons, by his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy Council.

7. FURTHER it is eſſential to the preſervation of his preſent place, and to his future hopes of preferment, that he conceive juſt ideas of the origination of money-bills.

8. HIS *intereſt* then will ever oblige him to confeſs, that all benevolences, OR FREE GIFTS from the people, conſtitutionally take their riſe in an aſſembly, neither made or created by, or proceeding from, the people.

9. THIS is the HIBERNIAN COURTIER'S political faith, which, whoſoever inviolably adheres to, ſhall be rewarded with a maſked penſion for himſelf, and a fancied ball without maſks, for his wife and daughters.

10. AND for all thoſe who reject the foregoing liberal explanation, there ſhall be proteſts, prorogations, partial ſheriffs, packed juries, and influenced electors, even unto their lives end.

11. As it was in the arbitrary reign of the houſe of Stewart, ſo it ſhall continue, while venality and diſſipation prove uſeful engines in the hands of a corrupt adminiſtration.

LETTER

LETTER XV.

TO SINDERCOMBE.

SIR, *March* 6, 1770.

I HAD ſome ſatisfaction in reading your letter,—not that I admit the authenticity of your facts, or admire the force of your arguments, nor that I think the publick will be better enabled to judge of the meaſures of government by the communication of your ſentiments, or that the Lord Lieutenant will be reformed by the ſeverity of your animadverſions; but, as a well wiſher to the perſon and adminiſtration of his Excellency, I am pleaſed to find, that a writer of no deſpicable talents is obliged to reſort, for the materials of invective, to the ſtale refuſe of news-paper anecdotes, and the exploded calumnies of vulgar detraction. You have collected the remnants of both with a malicious induſtry, and tricked them out in all the tinſel of antitheſis, and the ſecond-hand frippery of imitated periods. You have kept a reverend eye upon that great Homer of defamation, Junius; and like your maſter, have created a monſter of your own imagination, in order to ſhew how ingeniouſly you can rail at it.

THERE is ſomething very inconſiſtent in the advice with which you begin your letter!—that Lord Townſhend ſhould think it *worth his while* (your own

own elegant expreſſion) to deliver down unimpaired to poſterity, a name diſtinguiſhed by the virtue of his anceſtors, when, at the ſame time, you do every thing to prevent the benefit of your own admonition; at once throwing dirt upon his reputation, and warning him to take care it may not be ſullied.

A WRITER, whoſe principal aim, like yours, is to rail, muſt trace up every political event to a corrupted ſource.—Accordingly in rejecting ſome pretended cauſes of Lord Townſhend's appointment, your very candour is no leſs malicious than your ſagacity, in fixing upon that which appears to you to be the true one. The intereſt of families is generally the ſame, and a great ſtation obtained by the joint reputation of brothers, is ſeldom held upon ignominious conditions, or uſed for unworthy purpoſes.

FULL of the beſt intentions towards the country he was to govern, he opened his firſt ſeſſion with the promiſe of a law to ſecure the independence of Judges; and why that promiſe was not fulfilled in its utmoſt extent, muſt be aſked, not on this ſide of the water, but perhaps of a quondam miniſter, whoſe jeſuitical politicks ſeldom had any higher view, than to ſecure his own department from encroachments, by impeding the buſineſs, and diminiſhing the credit, of every other. The publick however have little to regret, as no inconvenience has been known to reſult from this diſappointment; and the attainment of ten ſuch laws, to ſecure what was never invaded, could not be conſidered as equi-

valent

valent to that, which was never expected, though ſo often demanded, the limitation of parliaments.

It is difficult to determine upon what authority you ſo confidently aſſert, that his Excellency never intended, that is, never wiſhed to give either. Is it the ſhrewdneſs of your own conjecture? or has it been ſuggeſted to you by that gentleman of popular manners, whom you repreſent ſo honourably, contending againſt government, in its own armour, and with its own weapons, at the head of his revenue legion of collectors, ſurveyors, waiters, ſearchers, packers and guagers? He indeed might have told you, that as to himſelf he never wiſhed ſucceſs to the limitation bill—notwithſtanding his pretended zeal for it; that he had found more than one Chief Governour, on whoſe ſympathy he could repoſe the inſincerity of his boſom; and knowing little more than the ſtation of Lord Townſhend, concluded, that would operate as it had done before, for the gratification of his private views, which were generally inconſiſtent with his publick declarations.——Were theſe authorities however more powerful, the ſtubborn fact would not bend before them. We have the law, and the people have paid the honeſt tribute of their gratitude to him who diſdained an underhand ſtipulation to obſtruct it; whoſe name will appear with unrivalled luſtre in the records of parliament, and whoſe memory will be revered, while there is any ſenſe of independence, or any abhorrence of oppreſſion, in the yeomanry of Ireland.

You

You next tell us, that the ſucceſs of the *augmentation* was the principal object of the preſent adminiſtration; and you impute the miſcarriage to his want of management, though you enumerate a catalogue of difficulties, which made ſucceſs almoſt impoſſible. Thus hurried along by a rage to criminate, you either confound the charge with the juſtification, or (which is more likely) you ſuppoſe the incautious reader may do it for you.

Some circumſtances unfavourable to the meaſure he could not foreſee, and others from a regard to his own dignity he could not wiſh to prevent. Of the firſt ſort were, the cloſing of the committees of ſupply (which could not be kept open until the enabling act, previouſly neceſſary for the augmentation of the Forces, was paſſed by the legiſlature of England) and the clamours raiſed againſt the army there and in America, for interpoſing, at the deſire of the magiſtracy in both countries, to ſuppreſs riots and reſtore order, for which no civil authority was found ſufficient. Of the ſecond was, the clauſe of diſſolution in the limitation-bill, agreeable to the true ſpirit of the law, as ſuch, the object of the people's wiſh, and therefore entitled to the countenance of government.——But the great difficulty, and the great offence of all, remains to be accounted for;—the alienation of parties. The publick have long known this was the real cauſe of oppoſition; but until you appeared, no one was found hardy enough to impute it as the crime of adminiſtration. To ſee the buſineſs of the nation conducted without the venal concurrence of a rapacious confederacy,

racy, had long been the wiſh and the deſpair of the people. Thoſe, who reverenced the dignity of the Crown, were ſorry to find it degraded by the ſupineneſs or timidity of its repreſentatives. Too many adminiſtrations had been diſtinguiſhed by events of no greater importance than new acceſſions of influence to connexions already overgrown, and the ſhameful barter of the favours of government, to ſecure the repoſe, or to gratify the avarice of the Governour. No wonder then, when a new ſpirit of activity and diſintereſtedneſs appeared at the Caſtle, that new maxims ſhould be adopted, and new pretences held out, by the diſappointed brokers in parliamentary traffick: without changing their principles, they ſuddenly changed their conduct: and united all their ſtrength to harraſs him, whom they could neither ſeduce, or intimidate. The well diſciplined cohorts of Leinſter and Shannon fell into the ranks at the firſt tap of the drum; and the motley bands of Ponſonby were cajoled and menaced into obedience. A body of independent irregulars joined the ſtandard, not the cauſe, of oppoſition; and after diſputing every inch of the ground, victory was decided in their favour by an inconſiderable ſuperiority. It required no ſmall degree of ſpirit to look this formidable alliance in the face; and nothing but the greateſt circumſpection could have prevented its being ſtronger.

So far your capital objection to him as a ſtateſman is without foundation; yet admitting, as I do, that the ſucceſs of the *augmentation* was his principal object, I ſhould be at a loſs how to defend his

ſufficiency,

ſufficiency, had he again been baffled. But to the confuſion of your own argument, you are obliged to acknowledge, that in this meaſure he has ſucceeded; and let the voice of truth tell you how;—with ſuch peculiar felicity, as to give at once new vigour to the Crown, and new ſecurity to the people: to unite in its ſupport the real patriot by his principle, and the falſe one by his pretence; to leave even jealouſy without a fear, and ingenuity without one colourable objection. But it ſeems you are as much offended with the new modification of the meaſure, and the terms upon which it was obtained in the ſecond ſeſſion, as with its not having been obtained at all in the former. You are hurt to ſee Majeſty deſcending from the throne, and capitulating with the people. I have never underſtood that an amicable agreement between the King and the ſubject, for the mutual benefit of both, has been ever conſidered as a degradation of royalty. The Crown has often made exchanges of a ſimilar nature, ſurrendering prerogative for revenue; and ſome of the greateſt improvements of the conſtitution have ariſen from ſuch a commerce. Had his Majeſty, or his repreſentative, meanly ſtipulated with individuals for the ſupport of his meaſures, and, according to what ſeems to be the great myſtery of your politicks, promiſed or bribed them into compliance, the King might then indeed be ſaid to have deſcended from his throne, and to have proſtituted the royal dignity.

YOUR proſecution againſt him as a ſtateſman being cloſed, you proceed to araign him as a ſenator, and ſoldier. An impartial account of his conduct

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in both theſe relations would be his beſt panegyrick, and your fulleſt refutation. His ample fortune and ſplendid expectations, his voluntary engagement in an unlucrative and perilous profeſſion, the whole tenour of his conduct in that profeſſion, the ſpirit with which he relinquiſhed, and with which he reſumed it, the teſtimony of the Generals he ſerved under, and of the armies he commanded, have all contributed to ſet a ſeal upon his character; and are ſuch memorials to his honour, as the moſt ingenious malice will never be able to efface.

You are groſsly ignorant of, or you groſsly miſrepreſent, the motives of his parliamentary conduct. He patronized the militia-bill, and the duke of Cumberland was no friend to it. This was the cauſe of their miſunderſtanding. He preferred the duty he owed his country to every other conſideration, and diſcharged it faithfully, though the temporary diſappointment of his military ambition, and the frowns of a prince, were to be the forfeit. When that prince diſcountenanced a meaſure ſo congenial to the Engliſh conſtitution, he oppoſed Mr. Townſhend, not Mr. Townſhend him. As to the reſt, I will not diſturb the little triumph of your fancy, but rather thank you for that play of words, which having led you from things to ſounds, has ſpared me the trouble of an anſwer to an accuſation too frivolous to deſerve one.

There remain but two particulars more to be noticed, and I ſhall then follow you to a concluſion. Lord Townſhend's correction of Collonel Luttrel,

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by a political bravo, is no leſs falſe than his launcing the thunder of a reverſionary challenge at Dr. Lucas. The mentioning Colonel Luttrel's name in the Houſe of Commons, was merely accidental: and from the circumſtances of the time, and the occaſion, could not poſſibly have happened from ſuggeſtion or pre-concert. It is in vain to refer you to all the members of the houſe who were preſent, for you knew the falſehood before you publiſhed it. As to the venerable infirm member, his own petulance drew upon him a reprimand, which his vanity choſe to interpret into a challenge; yet Lord Townſhend's words bore no ſuch meaning, nor were ſo conſidered by any perſon preſent.

At your concluſion you labour hard in the affected ſtrains of ungenuine pathetick, to give a mournful deſcription of deceaſed merit, at the expence of the living; and your impotence ſeems to encreaſe in proportion to your efforts. *Diſeaſe* and *Death*, triumphs and lamentations, funeral obſequies, a venerable matron, fiends and heroes, Greeks and Romans, graves and monuments, are all grouped in the gloomy picture.

While the yet-undecided fate of Canada and the Britiſh army were depending, the General who ſucceeded to the command, had no leiſure to cull ſuch flowers of rhetorick to deck the grave of the departed conqueror: but being himſelf a ſoldier, he paid a more judicious tribute to the merit of his colleague, by publickly teſtifying that his intrepidity and ſkilful operations had enſured the victory.

I must

I MUST ſpend a few words more to detect another calumny, which has baſhfully retired from your text into an humble note, where you accuſe him of uſurping General Monkton's province, and ignorantly or arrogantly ſigning the capitulation. Before the death of General Wolfe, General Monckton was carried on board a ſhip in the river, wounded, as it was thought, mortally; and the command devolving upon Lord Townſhend, it was his duty and his province to ſign the capitulation.

HAVING now done with your letter, allow me to ſay a word or two to your perſon, and to gueſs at your character, by the marks of it in your compoſition.

YOU are not the friend of the community in general, for you wiſh to ſee all power engroſſed by a few individuals. You are not the friend of Iriſh liberty, or of Engliſh government; for when you wiſh the force of the prerogative may be relaxed, you wiſh it at the hazard of the people's affections, and at the expence of the conſtitution of Ireland. Having told you what you are not, let me now tell you what you are.

YOU are the friend of ſucceſsful corruption, and an enemy to Lord Townſhend, becauſe he does not practiſe the art of corrupting. You are the admirer and humble imitator of Junius, and a fellow labourer in the great cauſe of ſedition: the ſignature you have choſen, is perhaps expreſſive of your diſpoſition; take care that it may not be an omen of your cataſtrophe; ſince you would leave behind

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you, at beſt, but an ambiguous reputation, to be reſolved by your friends into an aſſaſſin, and by your enemies into a ſuicide.

BROGHILL.

LETTER XVI.

TO BROGHILL, WITH AN ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC.

April 3, 1770.

BY accident I did not ſee your letter till I found it incorporated with my own in one publication; and diſperſed together with it by ſome friend, no doubt, to Lord Townſhend.—— Were it not for ſome things that have happened ſince, and which make it neceſſary for me to trouble the publick further, I ſhould have been ſilent.— But before I go to new matter, I wiſh to anſwer you on the old.

WHEN you allow me to be a writer of no deſpicable talents, I am ſenſible of the compliment; and though you criticiſe my diction, I am ready to confeſs that the ſtyle of your defence is ſuperior to the ſubject, as well as to the matter of it.—Were you infallible even in language, I ſhould not be inconſolable under your ſtrictures; and your charges of inelegance have loſt of their weight, ſince you ſpeak of my *throwing dirt* on Lord Townſhend's reputation,

tion, and of my being *hurt* to ſee Majeſty deſcending from the throne. My ſtyle, whatever it may be, is however my own. Neither can I believe, if you thought me but a copyiſt, that you would have followed me ſo cloſely, as to emulate, it ſhould ſeem, even the number of my lines. In this particular I fear we are both exceptionable; our performances are long. I have ſome apology however. Mine is a copious theme; a topick not eaſy to diſpatch, and impoſſible to be exhauſted;—the reproach of Lord Townſhend.

How have you defended him? You tell me that I have ſaid nothing which was not publiſhed before. To what do you aſcribe the ſtaleneſs of my invective? Not to dulneſs, for you allow me ingenuity. Not to candour, or a reluctance to invent, for you charge me with the moſt active and licentious malevolence. You muſt then attribute it to that ſagacity of malice which you impute to me; and which ſaw, that the taſk of invention, though eaſy, was unneceſſary. That character is unhappy, with reſpect to which, the only difficulty is to give novelty to cenſure; and thoſe charges are but ill refuted, to which the objection is their notoriety.

You ſay that my advice to Lord Townſhend, to conſult the reputation of his name, and the liberties I have taken with his character, are inconſiſtent. Were you ſo inattentive, or ſo inaccurate, as not to ſee that I intended not admonition, in that ſentence, but reproof; that I did not ſay it *is*, but that it *was* worth his while to conſult it; that I

ſpoke of his anceſtor's reputation, not of *his*; and that it was not an abſurd advice to repair what is irretrievable, but a gentle intimation of the irrecoverable evil of his early, and confirmed degeneracy. He is obliged to you for requiring me to be more explicit in my terms.

THE promiſe of the Judges' bill you cannot deny. Neither can you deny the non-performance of it. You are conſcious of the infamy of that tranſaction, and you only endeavour to transfer it to the Earl of Shelburne. If the Earl of Shelburne, becauſe he was then Secretary of State in Great-Britain for the Iriſh department, is to be cenſured for the failure of that law, he ought to be applauded for the attainment of the octennial-bill. The man who is reſponſible enough to be blamed, is reſponſible enough to be commended.——But we conſider our chief Governor as reſponſible to us. It is his duty never to promote, or to ſuffer, any thing that is improper, with reſpect to this country. He ought not to adviſe any ſuch thing; and he need not ſuffer it; for he may reſign. On Lord Townſhend therefore we call for the miſcarriage of that bill, as a breach of his honour; and had he not made it impoſſible for us to be deceived, to him we ſhould refer the ſucceſs of the other.—But he was induſtrious to obviate ſuch an error.—An induſtry which might have been aſcribed to ſincerity and frankneſs, were it not for the deſpicable abſurdity of the impoſture which is now attempted. You throw upon Lord Shelburne the loſs of that law which Lord Townſhend promiſed, and aſſume

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to Lord Townſhend the acquiſition of that law, which he did not promiſe; which he never pretended at the time to expect or to patronize; and which, ſince its eſtabliſhment, he has uniformly reviled and ridiculed: except in a ſpeech from the throne, where he ſeems to think it is his prerogative to falſify.

You ſay, that in my rage to criminate, I enumerate difficulties, which inſtead of aggravating, juſtify his failure with reſpect to the *augmentation* in his firſt attempt. What was my argument? That the exiſtence of thoſe difficulties at the time that he propoſed that meaſure, was a proof of his folly. Could any indiſcretion, but that of Lord Townſhend, have created a common intereſt between ſo many diſcordant and contradictory parties? And if the alienation of every man of conſequence in the kingdom were a matter of deſign, would any ſtateſman but Lord Townſhend have begun the execution of that deſign, till that great point had been firſt decided. I am no advocate for great men. I will ſuppoſe for a moment, that ſome of them may be as unprincipled as you wiſh.——What is the conſequence? Only that you can aſcribe their oppoſition to another cauſe than that of virtue. But if it was not owing to their virtue, it was owing to Lord Townſhend's abſurdity. He alienated the profligate, perhaps, by an unmeaning talk about principle; as he alienated the principled by a ſhameleſs avowal of profligacy. The very being of that unnatural league at that period, was the demonſtration of his incapacity; and the ſmallneſs of

their majority was the demonſtration of the ſtrength of government.——One ſhewed, what a powerful inſtrument he poſſeſſed; the other, to how little purpoſe he poſſeſſed it: and inſtead of contradicting each other, they conſpired to his condemnation.

You allow that the augmentation was his principal object; and becauſe it was carried, you inſinuate that he was ſucceſsful. But though this were his only object of purſuit, he ought to have remembered, that to be able to ſtand on the defenſive at leaſt, was a neceſſary part of his duty; inſtead of being defended however, I aſſerted, and you cannot deny, that government was attacked in his ſecond ſeſſion by an encreaſing majority. I aſſerted alſo, and with equal truth, that even the *augmentation* was carried, ſo as to be a diſgrace, and not an honour to him. The meaſure of the augmentation indeed was carried; but not Lord Townſhend's meaſure. He ſubſcribed in his impotence to the requiſition of his opponents; and the meaſure dictated and ſuſtained by them, ſucceeded. The ignominy of the conditions I have already deſcribed; and I will ſpare the bluſhes of my ſovereign, where I cannot excite thoſe of his repreſentative.

The infinite indifference between Lord Townſhend's meaſure, and that which ſucceeded, I need not mention; it is acknowledged. As originally propoſed, the terms were injurious to the ſubject; as carried, they are diſhonourable to the Crown. Your patron endeavoured firſt to over-reach the people,

people, and in the end ſuffered the Crown to be degraded. Which will he relinquiſh? His candour in the firſt, or his fidelity or underſtanding, in the laſt tranſaction? The option is melancholy, and yet to give him the alternative is merciful. So ſenſible are you indeed of the principle of *truck*, or rather of capitulation, that diſgraced that buſineſs, that you are obliged to avow, and therefore defend it. You ſay that the Crown has often much ſuch exchanges, by ſurrendering prerogative for revenue. To the eternal diſgrace of our monarchs, it is true that the people have ſometimes been obliged to purchaſe their rights by ſubſidy; or to extort them by arms. But the reigns of weak or wicked kings are the ſeaſon for ſuch ſtipulations. A weak king only will alienate his own rights; and a wicked one only will encroach, ſo as to have it in his power to ſurrender thoſe of his ſubjects. Take care how you ſlander your prince, to defend your patron. His being repreſented by that patron is ſufficiently diſgraceful.

You ſay, that an impartial account of his Excellency's conduct as a ſoldier and a ſenator, would be my fulleſt refutation. Why were you ſo brief in ſo material a part of your defence? Why have you not condeſcended to be circumſtantial? Why have you *aſſerted* only, if you could have *proved*? That ſimple narrative which you mention, but avoid, would have been more effectual than all your flouriſhes, if it had been ſafe. In whatever elſe we differ, in this however we agree. I appeal for his character as a ſoldier, to the Generals under

whom he ſerved, and to the armies which he commanded; and particularly to that army which he commanded under General Wolfe.——To that army I appeal, whether he knew the duty of obedience, or the dignity of command? whether if General Wolfe deſerved commendation, his lordſhip muſt not have merited diſgrace? and whether he did not thwart every meaſure of that great man whilſt he lived, as well as endeavour to depreciate him in the grave?

Lord Townſhend became an enemy to the Duke of Cumberland, you ſay, becauſe his Royal Highneſs was not a friend to the militia; a ſpecies of perſecution for opinion, of which I did not ſuſpect his Excellency; eſpecially towards the ſon of his monarch. The idea is ſo probable indeed, that I thank you for the ſuggeſtion of it. Why did you not alſo aſſert, that he did not perfidiouſly inſult the perſon of his Royal Patron? The ſame attention to credibility might have permitted you; and his Excellency has reaſon to complain, that you have not been uniform in his defence. As to the correction of Colonel Luttrel, let any man judge, whether a miniſterial tool would have volunteered in the abuſe of that gentleman and of the Middleſex election. I am glad, however, that by the mention of another fact, I have been inſtrumental in ſo authentick a declaration of the ſafety of one of our city repreſentatives. I am confident his conſtituents were more ſolicitous for his perſon, than the venerable member was for himſelf. The challenge however was too notorious. But it is not a

matter

matter of ſurprize that it is retracted notwithſtanding. Neither can the venerable member conſider that retraction, as a particular compliment to him. General Fitzwilliam and the father of Colonel Luttrel will inform him, that it is not the firſt time that his Excellency has *reconſidered* a challenge.—— To dwell upon his ſenatorial character would be a ſuperfluity of malice. For his abilities, I appeal to every man who ever heard him *mutter* in the ſenate, and for his principles, to his ſpirited concurrence in the perſecution of America, and of Mr. Wilkes, and particularly his zealous ſupport of *general warrants*, in ſpite of the eloquence, the example, and the entreaties, of his unhappy brother. Let him deny this, if he can.

Not content with defence, you enter into panegyrick. Some late occurrences make it eſſential, that the people of Ireland ſhould not be miſled at this criſis; and I promiſe they ſhall not. To them therefore I dedicate the remainder of this letter, which ſhall contain a detection of your miſrepreſentations, and of certain vulgar, and inconſiderate errors.

To whatever degradation his lordſhip may in other things have ſubmitted, you maintain, that he ſcorned the degradation of ſtipulating with individuals. Where he or his advocates have found this idea, I know not. It has not been the ſyſtem of his predeceſſors. Nor is it the ſyſtem of his friends, the Miniſtry of England. It is as little founded in the facts of his adminiſtration too, as in the precedents

I have mentioned.——Not to ſpeak of his Excellency's firſt winter, no ſooner was his preſent Secretary inveſted with his office, than he began to traffick. Lord Loftus, then a commoner, went to London. His door was beſieged, night and morning, by the Secretary. Thoſe terms (with ſomething more) which have ſince overcome Mr. Beresford, were preſſed on Lord Loftus, if he would forſake the Speaker. That nobleman had not then learned the immortality he would acquire, by deſerting at once his country and his friends. He anſwered like a man, that, occupied in the care of 20,000 l. a year, he had not leiſure to attend an office under the crown. When the Secretary firſt came to Ireland, I aſk whether the Speaker and his friends were not offered the moſt ample terms for an implicit ſupport, by this pure adminiſtration? Was not the office of preſident of the council, propoſed to be created, with an exorbitant ſalary, for the Speaker himſelf, by this enemy to corruption? Were not conſiderable private terms offered to every great power, and certain individuals alſo, by this diſdainer of ſtipulation with individuals? Neither is this pretence leſs improbable, than it is falſe. Would his Excellency himſelf have purchaſed the lieutenancy of Ireland, by reſigning the Engliſh ordinance to General Conway, if he were averſe to this ſpecies of traffick, or if it were not tolerated in the preſent reign? Conſider his Lordſhip's character, and that of thoſe by whom he is governed. The ſervile abettor of every unconſtitutional meaſure, the tool of Bute and of every thing which

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wears the livery of Bute; the *practiſer* of corruption in every period of his life, and at length the *miſſionary*, is nominally governour. A Weymouth, a Sandwich, a Rigby, a Northington, an Hertford, and an Holland, are his directors. Are theſe the men who have forbidden him to ſtipulate with individuals? are theſe men averſe to corruption? or are they the moſt conſpicuous examples of venality in a venal age? How have the fraternity of the preſent adminiſtration, how have the gang of Bloomſbury obtained their offices? We will readily believe that they ſeldom have refuſed, but we cannot believe, that they never ſtipulated for places. We cannot ſo utterly diſcredit every profeſſion of our ſovereign, as to attribute their elevation merely to his choice. Or have the public been perpetually miſtaken? and is it the mildneſs of Weymouth, the purity of Sandwich, the diffidence of Rigby, the diſintereſted and elegant ſpirit of Northington, the munificence of Hertford, and the popularity of Holland, that have recommended them to each other, as well as to a pious and a diſcerning prince? A pretence to principle, in ſuch a viceroy, governed by ſuch an adminiſtration, inſtead of being imputable to virtue, or even to the hypocriſy of clumſy vice, can be nothing but the inſolent irony of a profligate and audacious venality—And, to ſpeak of this kingdom, was it the auſterity of Andrews, the patriotiſm of Hutchinſon, or the conſiſtency and wiſdom of the Earl of Tyrone, that has marked them out to his Excellency's favour? The world will not eaſily believe, that motives, ſuch as theſe,

induced

induced his Excellency to promiſe a biſhopric to the recommendation of a man, who is fitter to preſide over a brothel than an univerſity: or to be conducted by another, whoſe ſlippery proſtitution has rendered even his infamy ridiculous. Nor will they believe, that the Earl of Tyrone, after having violated every engagement, private and public, into which he ever entered, has been ſelected for his conſiſtency and honour; or that his abilities have recommended him, when they reflect, that the elder Brutus muſt have been a leſs diſſembler than the Earl of Tyrone has been from his earlieſt years, if his Lordſhip's incapacity be counterfeit. His Lordſhip will pardon this trait of his character in a piece where he is not the principal. He deſerves, and may receive a full delineation.

When Lord Townſhend firſt landed, he threw himſelf into the arms of thoſe men, whom his hirelings are now employed to vilify. If to ſuffer them to conduct the affairs of this country, be criminal, he is chargeable with that guilt; and if it be not, their removal is not worth a convulſion. Some time after, indeed, they ſuffered. They ſay, they relinquiſhed him on public ground; he ſays, that he diſagreed with them on private. Their allegation is more conſtitutional than his; and they are equally poſitive. They, who know Lord Townſhend, know how to eſtim ate his aſſertion. But allow it to be true,—it was not their principles, but their demands, with which he was diſſatisfied. Why then does he talk of their principles? let them have been ever ſo flagitious, he would only be the

more

more to be condemned, who preferred ſuch perſons originally, and who never diſagreed with them but upon private conſiderations. The demands of theſe gentlemen, true or falſe, have been ſtated to the public; and, as ſtated by their enemies, are not very important. The Governor muſt have an high idea of the value of an office, or muſt form but a poor eſtimate of his own meaſures, and of public tranquillity, who would hazard either of the latter, for objects of no greater ſignificance. And I will venture to propheſy, that the public, in the end, will loſe by his adventure, even in a pecuniary conſideration of the ſubject. But be this as it may, it was not principle, by which he was directed. He went to the market, and his only objection, is, not that it was a market, but that it was extravagant. Far from diſdaining to ſtipulate, he condeſcended to *chaffer*, and to *peddle* in corruption. There was ſomething beſides œconomy too at bottom. He conſidered every placeman as a chattel of government. He thought, that they had been purchaſed before, and that they were not entitled to a ſecond valuation. It is not a principle of virtue, but of venal deſpotiſm, by which this ſentiment has been ſuggeſted. It is not the vice, but the power to ſtipulate which he diſlikes.——— He does not wiſh for that exalted integrity which diſdains to bargain; but for that impotent and mean proſtitution, which muſt not *ſtipulate* but *ſubmit*.

MEN, who oppoſed, not only his other meaſures, but even his favourite augmentation, are rewarded; whilſt Lord Shannon, Lord Lanesborough and the Speaker,

Speaker, though they ſupported the augmentation, are puniſhed. But they oppoſed in ſome other things, we are told; and they were in office.—— Here is the principle. All men in office are to be taught, that their ſupport muſt be indiſcriminate. Corruption is ſo ſtrong that it diſdains any management. Placemen are openly treated as ſlaves, and are no longer to be led, but laſhed, into obedience. It is not now the hope of advancement, but the terror of deprivation, that is to be employed. The corruption of a free ſtate is over; and the corruption of ſervitude is what we are now to experience.

YET even this principle is not conſiſtently purſued. And wherefore? Becauſe, though this is the final object, there is another more immediate, to which a temporary ſacrifice muſt be made. What is that? The deſtruction of every great man in this country. And how is this attempted? Government, like ancient Rome, has opened an aſylum, into which all fugitives and betrayers are to be received. A Tiſdall, and a Hutchinſon, tho' they oppoſed, when bending under the weight of his Majeſty's favours, are taken into grace, notwithſtanding their demands, becauſe they have deſerted. Lord Loftus,—though perſonally rude to Lord Townſhend, and though he oppoſed in office, not only where others oppoſed, but even where they did not—is ſolicited to accept of favours from Government, on the eaſy condition of betraying his family and his profeſſions. All the friends of the leading men of this country are to remain in employment,

ployment, notwithſtanding their oppoſition, if they will forſake their connexions. The piety that encourages perfidy is ſuſpicious. The purity that employs corruption, not only againſt every political, but every moral, principle, is unſound. Political profligacy has hitherto preſerved one refuge; a pretence to domeſtic virtues, and particularly to gratitude and friendſhip. Our ſpirited Adminiſtration diſdains any reſource but that of abandoned numbers. The conſequences of that tenet to miniſters are of little importance. But that prince is unhappy, who makes the treachery of his ſervants the ground of his confidence. He forfeits all title to fidelity, where otherwiſe he might find it; and may live, like Lord Holland, to ſee the principles he inſpired converted to his ruin. What is the end of theſe contradictions in puniſhments and rewards? To deſtroy all the leading intereſts of the kingdom; that is, all national weight and dignity. Power is the crime of the Speaker; power is the crime of Lord Shannon; and power is the crime of the Duke of Leinſter.

The ſhadow of influence, that is not dependant on the breath of the crown, is not to be endured. A plan of arbitrary power has been ſyſtematically purſued by the evil genius of theſe countries. The ſubſervience of the Britiſh Parliament was conſidered as already ſecured. To enſlave all the dependencies, it was only neceſſary to eſtabliſh the power of that parliament over thoſe dependencies. This was accordingly attempted, and has never been relinquiſhed.——Another thing was neceſſary to the

ſafe

safe execution of this design. Every considerable individual, and all the inherent strength of these countries, were to be broken. Look at England. Is not every man of superior wisdom, virtue and consequence, proscribed? Is not Administration a collection of the most impotent and irreputable men? Is it not the ambition of the court, to show, that the most despicable character can be created a minister; and that the consequence of that individual is not a channel to distinction, but the arbitrary favour of the crown; Is not this the principle of a despotic government? In a commonwealth, virtue is the only path to advancement; and in arbitrary constitutions, the humour of the prince. A manly emulation is the result of one, and a venal servility is the consequence of the other. In a mixed government, such as ours, there are many qualifications which should lead to promotion, as well as the favour of the Crown. If they do not, we cannot long be free. All the passions will be on the side of slavery, and the union of men's virtues will not be sufficient for the preservation of freedom, except a conflict can be maintained between their vices also. Unhappily we are come to the day of this trial. The furious spirit, which impels it, has made an attack upon every part of the British dominions at once, and seems to trust to universal consternation for universal victory. If the attack be general, so ought the defence. No man, who has a heart, can hesitate to resist it. See how England bleeds under this system already. See her,

her, degraded at home, and abroad. See her conſtitution violated by ruffians with impunity. See the outcries of a mighty nation neglected, if not contemned. What then would become of ſuch a country as this, if the firſt ſtep of degradation were admitted?——We ſhould ſink in a moment into the vileſt ſervility. To be governed by deſperate adventurers amongſt ourſelves, might be our firſt, and would be our moſt ſplendid condition. But even that would be of ſhort continuance. There was a time, and that not remote, when the natives of this country were excluded from office. Boulter's letters, and even the preſent ſtate of our appointments, will ſhew, that though the law be repealed, the principle continues. Were the preſent deſign to prevail, not an atom of influence would be ſuffered to remain in the hands of a native. Let not men imagine that this is of no importance. The natives of a country may betray it; and the natives, even of greateſt conſequence, may ſometimes have an intereſt contrary to that of their country. But not often: not perpetually, like an alien; nor eaſily, like an inſignificant native. The employment of the moſt conſiderable natives is therefore the beſt chance, which the community can have for good Adminiſtration; and, where certainty is unattainable, the better chance is always to be adopted. The ſyſtem of theſe men is preciſely the reverſe. Judge from hence how honeſt it is in them to propoſe, and how wiſe it would be in you to accept it.

No

No man can be ſo ſimple as to ſuppoſe, that the preſent Miniſtry of England has been at the trouble to compoſe, or would be at the inconvenience to eſtabliſh, a ſyſtem, merely for the internal benefit of this country, and for the aggrandizement of our independent gentlemen. It is but of late that theſe gentlemen have become favourites at court, or that the leaders of parties have become the contrary. The affections of a politician are always a matter of ſpeculation. His ſudden reverſes of affection are ſtill more ſuſpicious. And as the Miniſters of England have not even the ground of a perſonal acquaintance for an attachment to theſe gentlemen, it muſt (if any thing) be their principles which have captivated them. The idea is too abſurd to be dwelt upon. Far from it. It is their own pride and power that they conſult; and not the power of the independent gentlemen of this country, nor the independence of this kingdom. The very reverſe is their object. They may flatter independent gentlemen for the preſent; and corrupt ſuch of them as they cannot deceive, that they may be no longer independent. But when the point is carried, there will be an end of this courteſy. They will then be treated as the leaders of parties are now; and worſe, in proportion to their comparative inſignificance. They will be reviled by Government for the profligacy of having ſupported Government. This is the uniform practice of the preſent times. Is there a man in England of character and conſequence, who has not been wheedled, and even *wept* into office, in order to be degraded?

And

And what is the object of all this artifice and intrigue? To break the confidence of the people. To make them weary of their principal men, that, like the commonality of Denmark, in a fit of desperate diſguſt, they may make the Monarch arbitrary. What is the preventive? Let the nation be wiſe and magnanimous enough to ſuffer their affairs to be conducted by thoſe alone, in whom they can confide; and not to ſuffer any man to betray that confidence with impunity. And how is this to be done? By an unrelenting oppoſition to the men who betray them, and to the government which makes them traitors. But if the people are corrupt and puſillanimous enough to ſuffer men to be Miniſters, who betray them to their faces, and who boaſt of their proſtitution, they will find ſo many who will betray them, that they will loſe all confidence. What follows? A profligate and pernicious indifference in the people to the public concerns, and to the men by whom they are conducted; until at length they fall into the fatal and enormous abſurdity of truſting any man, becauſe they think that no man is to be truſted. When a nation is come to this, there is an end of every thing. It is not therefore a matter of indifference, but of the laſt importance, which is before you. You complained of an ariſtocracy, and you wiſhed to deſtroy it. To what end? that the power, which they ſeemed to monopolize, might be divided among yourſelves. Your feelings was natural, and the ſcheme, though viſionary in part, was in part practicable. Your enemies wiſh to deſtroy that ariſtocracy too? But

But to what end? Not to divide the power amongſt you, but to monopolize it themſelves. You agree in the means, but you differ diametrically in the end.——You thought that you yourſelves had too little influence. They think the nation has too much. You ſeem only to coincide, where in reality you are oppoſed. Under this error, if you concur with them to a point, they will then deſert you; and without aggrandizing yourſelves, you will degrade your country.

Because three men had the apparent pre-eminence, you erroneouſly imagined, that all the power of the ariſtocracy was limited to three. I ſpeak only for your benefit, and therefore let me ſpeak freely. The narrow ſpirit of envy was excited by this narrow conſideration of the ſubject. But you ought to have ſeen, that the power of each leader was only in proportion to the number of his adherents; and that the number of his adherents was only in proportion to his opportunities of ſerving and obliging thoſe adherents. What is the conſequence? The power of the head was employed in gratifying the members; that is the power of the chief was the power of his partizans in effect. Theſe partizans had their ſubordinate adherents, to whom they were in like manner obliged to tranſmit a portion of that light, which they derived from the principal luminary. And thus the power and profit of this ſyſtem, tho' ſeemingly confined to three, deſcended, and was diffuſed to many. The ſyſtem however was too narrow. I allow it. And the conduct of the undertakers was not unexceptionable.

ceptionable. But this I ſay, that the evil was not capital as it ſtood; and that at worſt it was domeſtic, and the remedy in yourſelves. Now if you had not ſenſe or ſpirit to redreſs that grievance; neither will you have ſenſe or ſpirit to redreſs the grievance, which may follow from a change. But there is this difference. That you had it in your power to remedy the evil of the former ſyſtem; but that you will not have it in your power to remedy this ſyſtem, if eſtabliſhed. You thought, that the three chiefs could too eaſily unite againſt you, from the ſmallneſs of their number. You wiſhed that number to be encreaſed to render ſuch an union difficult. But you ought to have conſidered, that there are other, more important, and leſs remediable dangers; that the circumſtance, which will impede a *pernicious*, will obſtruct a *beneficial* concert; and that power may be ſplit amongſt ſo many individuals, that it would be impoſſible to unite them againſt the ruinous attack of the moſt wicked adminiſtration that Great Britain ſhall ever produce, to be a ſcourge to her dependencies. You ought to have conſidered, that a Britiſh Miniſter may poſſibly aſſiſt you againſt your own ariſtocracy; but that he will never aſſiſt you againſt himſelf. That in the former ſyſtem you had therefore an appeal; but that in this you will have none. You ought alſo to have ſeen, that the rein of that ariſtocracy was every hour relaxing. That the number of men of property, conſequence and education among you, daily encreaſed; and that this being an infallible and eaſy remedy againſt the rigour of that

form

form, a violent and uncertain remedy, to ſpeak the beſt of it, ought to be rejected. Ireland is ſubordinate, ſays England, and England is the ſuperior. We allow it. What form can be ſo proper, or ſo analogous to this mutual relation, as that the principal rule ſhould belong to Great Britain, and that the ſubordinate Government ſhould be left to Ireland? And was not this preciſely the caſe, when a chief Governor came from Great Britain, and left deputies behind him when he went, who were natives of this country? This gave all due pre-eminence and authority to England, without ſtripping this kingdom of all national weight. The people of Great Britain are too juſt, and the monarch too upright, not to be contented with this. And if an arbitrary adminiſtration are not ſo; they deſerve, not to be gratified, but oppoſed.

BANISH all narrow prejudices from your minds. Becauſe few of you can be Juſtices, you think you are not concerned in the change. But if few of you can be Juſtices, fewer of you can be Viceroys. Even in this view therefore, you will be loſers. But you are not now to determine, with reſpect to one another, whether this or that man ſhall have power; but whether the kingdom ſhall have any. I do not contend for the name of Juſtices, but for the ſubſtance; that is, for national weight and dignity. In whatever form, this is maintained, I am content. But by the preſent ſyſtem it muſt be deſtroyed. *Divide and govern*, is the adage of politics; and you will be broken by this ſyſtem into a multitude of inſignificant individuals, without a

principal,

principal, or poſſibility of union, in whatever extremity. Again, and again, therefore, I warn you, that if you are inſtrumental to this change, you will be traitors to yourſelves. It may ſmile on ſome of you for a moment; but the public will ſoon ſee it in frowns; and feel it in its ruin. I have no intereſt in the matter, but that which I have in common with you all. But that is ſufficient; and the counſel, which I have given, I would ratify with my blood. Remember your proſperity, or your ruin, as a nation, is at ſtake; and act accordingly.—— The cauſe is great, and do not trifle with it. Time is irreparable; do not loſe it. To be undone, is miſerable! and to be undone by theſe men, would be ignominious.

SINDERCOMBE.

LETTER XVII.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.

SIR, *Jan.* 12, 1771.

SINCE all our complicated miſeries ſerve but as amuſements to the authors of the public calamity, I ſhould ſubmit it to your judgment, whether we had not better change our plaintive tones to merry glees? Where neither a ſenſe of the ſufferings of the people, nor their groans, could ſtop the progreſs of tyranny, a ſneer, a ballad, and the loud laugh, ſucceeded. The experiment is worth

worth the trying. Let our tyrants think no longer, we moan or weep. Let us laugh them to ſcorn, and comfort ourſelves with hopes, that when times and things are at the worſt, they muſt mend.

MEAN while, help your readers to laugh and be merry, by giving them the following *new* ſong to an *old* tune.

Your's,

COMUS.

A NEW SONG.

Tune, CHEVY CHACE.

I.

GOD proſper long our noble King;
Our Lords and Commons all:
A prorogation once there did
In College-green befall.

II.

To hunt the Commons out of doors,
Lord Townſhend took his way;
The bill may rue, that was unpaſt,
The hunting of that day.

III.

The ſtout Lieutenant made a vow,
That ere the morn did break,

No

No ſturdy Commoners ſhould have
Ne vote, ne ſpeech to ſpeak.

IV.

With five and forty light dragoons,
And forty troopers ſtout,
Through ſtreets well lin'd on either ſide,
He took his rueful rout.

V.

Then did he, placed in the throne,
Strait for the Commons ſend,
And from his belt a paper pluckt,
Wherein his ſpeech was penn'd.

VI.

He told the Commons, firſt of all,
To them he chiefly came,
To give them thanks and eke reproof,
All in his maſter's name.

VII.

That they rebelliouſly had ſaid,
The King ſhan't get a ſouſe,
Which had not had its origin
Within the Commons' Houſe.

VIII.

That this had griev'd his Maſter George,
Had griev'd his heart full ſore;

And therefore his proteſt he'd make,
As Sidney did before.

IX.

He wiſely told the ſtatute o'er
Of Philip and of Mary,
And ſtout Sir Edward Poynings' law,
From which he'd never vary.

X.

That never ſhould the Commons frame
A bill to grant a penny;
For as to money, 'twas well known,
The people had not any.

XI.

The Council-board he thank'd full oft,
For their well-timed ſupply,
T'encreaſe the ſoldiers of the Crown,
And help it's dignity.

XII.

And having got the only jobb
The Crown deſir'd to carry,
He wiſh'd the Knights and Burgeſſes
No longer there might tarry.

XIII.

God's bleſt, cries Lucas, in a rage,
His face all trembling white,

Are

Are burdens then the Royal Grace,
And taxes our birth-right?

XIV.

Ye navigations, and ye piers,
Ye docks and locks, where are ye?
Are ye become the ſport and prey
Of Nathan and Sir Harry? *

XV.

The Ballaſt-office wall ſhall now
No more extend its piles;
And all the money ſhall be ſpent
By John a Nokes or Stiles.

XVI.

Then caſt his eyes in ſorrow down,
As one in doleful dumps;
"Revenge, he cried, tho' legs are gone,
I'll fight upon my ſtumps."

XVII.

Quick as the lightning's purple blaſt,
Flood ſtarted through the place,
Stand faſt my merry men all, he cry'd,
We'll give them *grace* for *grace*.

* Right Honourable Nathaniel Clements and Sir Henry Cavendiſh.

XVIII.

Addreſs! addreſs! ſtout Huſſey cried;
Impeach, quoth Burgh, impeach;
Quoth Buſh, remonſtrate,—but in vain;
Townſhend has murder'd ſpeech.

XIX.

O'Brien, ſprung from Iriſh Kings,
His eyes caſt down with ſhame;
Muſt Iriſhmen, ſaid he, deteſt
The ſound of George's * name.

XX.

Shall we, becauſe we've given much,
No recompenſe enſure:
Get no return—obtain no law,
But laws to make us poor.

XXI.

And after all we've done, are we,
Of all our hopes bereft,
To loſe the ſole immunity,
And privilege that's left.

XXII.

Stern Brownlow cried, ſince it muſt be,
We're blaſted in our prime;
Our future grants ſhall never laſt
'Bove ſix months at a time.

XXIII.

* T——h——d.

XXIII.

M'Cartney ſmil'd to ſee them ſad,
And ſimper'd at their moan;
For he was often wont to laugh,
And often laugh'd alone.

XXIV.

He told a ſtory of three crows,
Three crows upon a ſtone,
And when that theſe three crows were gone,
Why then that there was none.

XXV.

This news came to our Britiſh King,
Diſſolve, he ſtrait did ſay,
I truſt I have within my realm
Three hundred good as they.

XXVI.

Theſe tidings came to fair Ireland,
And all her merry men;
Sith 'twill no better be, ſay they,
We'll chuſe the beſt again.

XXVII.

God ſave the King, and him he ſent
To let us dine in peace,
And graciouſly cauſe foul debate
In parliament to ceaſe.

LETTER XVIII.

TO LORD LOFTUS.

MY LORD, *Feb.* 16, 1771.

IN all cases, perhaps, it were better to consider what we may do with virtue and with honour, than what we may do with profit. But in some situations any other consideration is as absurd as it is criminal. Such, my lord, is yours. With such a fortune, nothing but a wild profusion, which neither your nature, your habits, nor your age invite you to, can render you necessitous. You must volunteer in iniquity.

GOVERNMENT has nothing to bestow in point of profit, which is worth your servility. If an higher title and new honours be your object, they surely ought never to be sought by dishonourable means. At least, not by you, for two reasons. First, because with a little patience, the natural force of your situation, without any ignominious sacrifices, must command them. Next because having no children, it is absurd for you to be infamous whilst you live, to procure an honour which will expire with your breath.

What a man's children will be, he cannot foresee. An higher rank of nobility therefore, to men who have offspring, may be of some price, because it is, at least, a titular advantage to their posterity,

poſterity, if they ſhould prove incapable of any thing more ſubſtantial; whilſt it deprives them of no intrinſic diſtinction which they may happen to poſſeſs.——For, as Henry IV. ſays to his own ſon, with reſpect to the crown, which he had uſurped, it comes to them in the fair and level courſe of deſcent, however obliquely it was obtained. But a man like your lordſhip, who has no parental proſpects to ſeduce him, and whoſe ambition is neceſſarily perſonal, muſt be as weak, as he is mean, if he relinquiſhes his real weight, and proper dignity, to add another ſound, and another ſhadow. to one which he poſſeſſes.

If men would truſt their feelings of what is right, rather than their reaſonings about what is wiſe, it would be better for the majority of mankind. No perſon is more miſerably deceived in general than the man, who, whilſt he is execrated by others, hugs himſelf in the thought, that, though he is ſacrificing every thing elſe, he is at leaſt conſulting his intereſt. Men, who have ſuch a vanity in being thought clever, that they would rather be thus reckoned ſhrewd, than honeſt, cannot be really wiſe. There is an original unſoundneſs in ſuch underſtandings, that vitiates all their concluſions. If your lordſhip has lived to that period in which the more valuable inſtincts are abated, take care that you reaſon juſtly on your ſituation, before you act upon your reaſonings.

Pardon me for the freedom of this addreſs. The welfare of a nation demands it. You are of too much conſequence to be allowed the impunity

of little knaves.—If our preſent Lord Lieutenant thought, that a meeting of parliament, as things are circumſtanced, would be a benefit to this country, we muſt conclude from experience that he would not grant it. Your lordſhip it is ſaid, by becoming an apoſtate, has emboldened him to hold a ſeſſion, which he means ſhall be fatal to this country. Degenerate as the age is, I cannot believe it. From the ſcanty pittance of a ſecond brother, once glad, by the intereſt of your friends, to get 400l. a year, and a little penſion for your wife, you have riſen to a redundant fortune, accompanied with a numerous and obedient *following* in parliament. Has your mind been only elated, not enlarged, by proſperity? Are you inſenſible of the bleſſing of freedom? Inſtead of welcoming this independence, and congratulating yourſelf on this change, do you only yearn, like the Hottentot, to go back to your garbage? Remember, who were your friends, when you had no fortune.—Remember when your preſent property was at ſtake, by what influence the die was caſt in your favour. Remember you are to decide whether that Privy Council,—a ſeat in which you ſo lately ſolicited in vain, and from which you may be expelled to-morrow,—whether that Privy Council ſhall grant away the money of the nation; or the Commons, with whom you have a weight which no Governor, except your folly co-operates, can deſtroy.

THE eyes of the public are upon you, Gratitude, family affection, private faith, and public conſiſtency,

consistency, call aloud to you. You have still an option between honour and infamy; but the first day of the session will close the alternative.—In the dream of affluence, and amidst the soothing of deceivers, you may perhaps, have forgot your condition.——I wish to awaken, not to wound, to prevent, and not to punish.

PASCAL.

LETTER. XIX.

TO LORD LOFTUS.

My lord, *Feb.* 23, 1771.

'MY former letter prepared your lordship for this. The rumour thickens and I must pursue the alarm. Your own thoughts have been at work. Let me assist you with mine.'

You have seen, that you have every thing already, that interest or vanity can desire. But perhaps, the artifice of courts has inspired you with what you think ambition, and has taught you to believe, that you are engaged in the pursuit of power. Consider what it is which constitutes your weight. Profound knowledge, or shining abilities, are not your distinctions. Your consideration must entirely depend upon your parliamentary influence and personal character.

You cannot be ſo weak as to ſuppoſe, that the Government, whoſe end it is to deſtroy all *followings* in this country, except a venal following upon themſelves, will wiſh to multiply your adherents. On the contrary you muſt ſee, that they will be perpetually on the watch to detach your troops, and when once you make them mercenaries, ſome will deſert. But ſome of them are in place already, you ſay, and if they were to forfeit their offices by adhering to you againſt government, you think you would be obliged to make them compenſation. Firſt, the number is not great. The profits of your wife's penſion, and your own office (and if you chuſe to retain them you certainly may) will ſupply a conſiderable part of the indemnification. Your agency and certain expectations, not to mention the ſolace it would give to his principles, would be ſufficient for Mr. T————m the ſurveyor, till the neceſſary and ſpeedy rotation of power would reſtore him to his office, or probably procure him a better. And if, for a year or even two years, it were requiſite for you to contribute ſomething out of your private revenue to the eaſe of your friends, you have ſo many diſburſements, which you might better ſpare, that a ſaving in ſome leſs material part of your eſtabliſhment might eaſily be made, to counterbalance this honourable charge. The ſuſpenſion of any one article of expence at Rathfarnham (beſides leaving a monument leſs of your taſte) would compenſate. But at beſt, if this be, (as we are told) an argument of your Lordſhip's, it has it's founda-

tion

tion in the love of money; and you ought to remember, that if you are a votary in ambition, you muſt bid farewel to Mammon. Not to mention, that if you find this difficulty from a few of your creatures having employments, you will not diminiſh the embarraſſment, by crowding them all into office.

Yet what elſe can Government do for you? You cannot look for office yourſelf. A ſinecure would be mean; and an office of buſineſs would be ridiculous. If all then that you can hope from Government, will not add to this ſource of your conſideration, they can only aſſiſt you in the other, by giving luſtre to your chnracter.

How then will your reputation ſtand, if you unite with adminiſtration in the preſent juncture? What will the world ſay of you, if after having forced Mr. Ponſonby, in defiance of Government, to appoint Captain T———m, Collector of Droghеda, you ſhould compel that good-natured gentleman, in order to preſerve that collection, to cut the throat of Mr. Ponſonby, your common relation and benefactor? After having ſupported Mr. Ponſonby in the worſt meaſures he was ever accuſed of purſuing, what will the world ſay if you forſake him only where he is in the right: After having encouraged and led him on to reſiſt an adminiſtration, what will be ſaid, if you deſert him to abet that Adminiſtration? If with all your force you oppoſed the Privy Council Money-bill laſt ſeſſion of parliament, what will be ſaid, if in this

ſeſſion

ſeſſion you ſupport, with all your might, the proteſt and the prorogation? If the firſt time you ſpoke as a peer, you abuſed Lord Townſhend, in language, which gentlemen do not uſe, what will the world ſay, of your ſpirit or conſiſtency, if you become his tool? Inſolence and brutality are never thought the beſt repreſentatives of fortitude. But if meanly retracted, they ſtand for ſomething elſe.

One other foundation of influence to you I had forgot, I mean your property. But this, inſtead of juſtifying a diſhonourable revolt, would be the heavieſt aggravation of it. And yet it is whiſpered, that this, which ought to be your ſtrength, is your weakneſs. Extraordinary cauſes are naturally ſought for extraordinary effects. The officious world will talk, as if the litigation, in which you are ſtill engaged for a great part of that property, were the clue to your defection. They ſay, that a great officer of the law, who is your ſtateſman as well as your advocate, has expreſſed ſhrewd doubt of your ſucceſs upon an appeal to England, if you ſhould oppoſe Adminiſtration. In any age but this, a ſuggeſtion, ſo profligate and audacious, could not have been ſuppoſed; a ſuggeſtion, which is a ſtronger libel upon the government of theſe nations, than all that ever Bingley printed. Has then the *black emiſſary*, told you, that the Houſe of Lords of Great Britain, in their capacity of final judicature, regardleſs of the merits of your cauſe, will aſk, only, whether the friends of Lord Loftus, in the Houſe of Commons in Ireland, oppoſed

poſed or ſupported Lord Townſhend? Has he had the impudence to perſuade you to this; and have you had the wiſdom to be perſuaded?

The man, who cannot adviſe himſelf, will generally meet with bad counſel. The people who daily beſet you, and inſtil what they dare not, perhaps, expreſs, have unfortunately an intereſt repugnant to yours.

Feminine intrigue cannot be ſuſpected. Nor would it be for the honour of the woman, whom you love, that it ſhould be ſuppoſed. One would not have it ſaid, that principles ſo baſe could not harbour naturally in your breaſt, and that they muſt be communicated from a mean original.

And if, in defiance of every principle of honour and prudence, you were to betray the public and your friends on this great occaſion, conſider, how fatally you would betray yourſelf. If Government were defeated in the conteſt, ruin and infamy would ſeize you together. But ſuppoſe the beſt, which is never ſafe; ſuppoſe, that Government were to have all that they can hope, a ſcanty majority. A great majority, ſo conſtituted as the preſent oppoſition to government, wherein the moſt powerful connexions, and the moſt reſpectable individals of the kingdom, are united in the cauſe of the public, is a force which Engliſh Adminiſtration will not be mad enough to encounter from ſeſſion to ſeſſion, merely to gratify Lord Townſhend with the Lieutenancy of Ireland. It is not to be conceived. The preſent Viceroy muſt infallibly, in a few months, be removed; and upon

on the firſt change you will find your folly; deſpiſed by friends, renounced by relations, caſt off by Government, and hooted at by a nation. But if, in ſpite of every thing, you are determined to be infamous, at leaſt have the reward of infamy. Go to the caſtle, and if you are reſolved on rapine (to uſe the ſimile you politely applied to the Lord Lieutenant) act like a Highwayman, rather than like a pickpocket. Apply the blunderbuſs of your gang to Lord Townſhend's breaſt, and bid him *deliver*. You will find your error; and if you cannot go forward to profit, endeavour to return to honour.

PASCAL.

I WILL pay my compliments to every deſerter, man by man.

LETTER. XX.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.

SIR, *March* 5, 1771.

A GOOD cauſe, it has often been remarked, is frequently injured by the incapacity of thoſe who undertake its defence; but, when a bad one falls into the hands of clumſy advocates, their aukward efforts in its ſupport tend only to ſhew its deformity in ſtronger colours, and to add contempt and ridicule to deteſtation and abhorence.

I HAPPENED

I HAPPENED laſt night to be in a certain club, where the conduct of a great man was canvaſſed with much warmth; and I could not help remarking that his character was more likely to ſuffer (with the impartial hearers) from the ill-placed, injudicious flattery of his friends, than from the open, liberal, and manly reprehenſion of his opponents. Their mode of argumentation alſo was burleſque in the extreme: one learned gentleman* (who muſt be reckoned the champion of the party, as he receives the pay of two common labourers) with the vociferation of a Bedlamite, and geſture and attitude nicely copied from the ſtate kettle-drummer, informed the club that the proteſt (which by the way, the great man had ordered to be entered upon the minute-book of another club as his proteſt) was not a proteſt; that it was a child of a Cabinet-council in another country, whoſe blundering godfather, like Mrs. Shandy's maid, Suſannah, forgot the name of the bantling, and cauſed it to be chriſtened a proteſt, but that now it was old enough to be *confirmed*, it was to receive a new name—in ſhort, that the proteſt was not a proteſt, but a vindication of the royal prerogative. I ſhall not follow this gentleman through the long ambages of his circumrotatory argument, nor relate with what a burſt of oratorical powers he inveighed againſt the miſerable Blackſtone, and, in the tempeſt of his indignation, belaboured the calf-ſkin cover, to the no ſmall endamagement of his knuckles, and the infinite merriment of the whole club; the relation would take up more of my time, and of your pa-

* R———d P——r, Eſq;

per

per, than either of us would chuſe to throw away upon ſuch a miſerable ſubject. Another learned gentleman * (not yet placed indeed, but whoſe mouth has been for ſome time gaping for the court-manna) diverted the club not a little by his wonderful talents of word-catching: this gentleman is one of thoſe irregulars, who ſcarcely ever join the main body, in any well conceived or forcible attack, but content themſelves with watching the out-ſkirts, and plundering, chalking, or ſcalping any wretch whom a falſe ſtep, or other croſs accident, may have thrown in their way. With the petulant ſelf-ſufficiency of a pedagogue, he quibbled for ten minutes, about mood and tenſe, number and perſon, concord and verb, equally to his own ſatisfaction and the amazement of his hearers, but as foreign to the matter in debate, as light is diſtant from darkneſs: this he may perhaps conceive to be pleaſantry, and wit; theſe grammatical quibblings may ſerve him at the bar, they may diſconcert an ignorant witneſs at a trial by *Niſi prius*, and make a circle of attornies admire the ſubtlety of his diſtinctions; but ſurely ſuch empty trifling ill becomes the dignity of parliamentary debate. The only ſhadow of an argument which he uttered, tended to prove the following very curious poſitions, viz. that the private and domeſtic virtues of the great man, well deſerved and ought to receive the meed of public thanks and approbation; and that his public demerits (however flagrant) ſhould in juſtice be arraigned only at the impotent tribunal of private reprehenſion. What ſort of arguments could

* J—n S—t, Eſq.

could be adduced to give colour to ſuch poſitions, it would puzzle the moſt inventive imagination to conceive. The public will probably be of opinion, that they could not be ſupported by any. One word, by way of hint, to this laſt gentleman, and I ſhall diſmiſs him for the preſent: he entered upon the political ſtage an avowed ſupporter of Adminiſtration; he had the reputation at leaſt of being a young man of parts, and had credit perhaps for greater abilities than he really poſſeſſes; let him conſider with himſelf, how he has hitherto ſupported the pre-conceived opinion: putting the party he connected himſelf with quite out of the queſtion, has he riſen or ſunk in the public eſtimation? ——If he cannot anſwer this queſtion to his ſatisfaction, let him be thrifty of the *remnant* of his credit, and remember that many, who formerly, ſet up with as large a capital as himſelf, have proved bankrupt in the end.

I MUST beg this learned gentleman's pardon; I I had almoſt omitted the mention of an undeniable argument which he offered in proof of his employer's very extraordinary abilities; little critics may indeed attempt to leſſen its merit, by objecting that it has been uſed before by Serjeant Kite: His argument in ſhort was this; that the great man is, of neceſſity, a very great man, as he happens to be upwards of ſix feet high. What a wonderful talent for vindication and panegyric! Or, has this gentleman a concealed intention, whenever he ſhall be inclined to change his political creed, to affirm that his former language was irony and burleſque?

I HAVE

I HAVE already, I fear, exceeded the limits, which it may be convenient to you to allow me. I ſhall therefore defer the portrait of the wild Canadian, and ſome others equally remarkable, to another opportunity.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your friend and a lover of liberty,

CAIUS GRACCHUS.

LETTER XXI.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.

SIR, *March* 16, 1771.

MY friend, the Colonel, whom one of your correſpondents had the impudence to call a wild Canadian, is, I aſſure you, a very good ſcholar, and critic, though the gentlemen in the *Round Houſe* were pleaſed to laugh, a few days ago, when he quoted a line out of the Odes of Horace. ——We ſtudied our *humanities*, and *puſhing*, together; and he was always the crack of the ſchool. I admire exceedingly his bravery, good nature, and affection for his friend; but as I don't at all agree with him in his political principles, I could not help viewing the Ode, he alluded to, in a different light from him, and thought it ſo applicable to Sancho, as they call him, that I have ventured to try my poetical abilities upon it—of which the encloſed is a ſpecimen; which is all at preſent from

Your humble Servant to command,

DENNIS O'FLAHERTY.

HORACE, BOOK I. ODE XXII.

Integer vitæ, &c.

Quoted by an *honourable* COLONEL, to illuſtrate the character of SANCHO.

THE man, that's neither brave nor juſt,
Is ſlave to paſſion, dupe to luſt,
No honeſt ſoul will ever truſt,
Or praiſe him:

Unconſcious of a gen'rous heart,
He needs the tyrant's vengeful dart,
The poiſon'd bribe, and flatt'rer's art,
To raiſe him.

Whether he treads CANADA's ſnows,
Where thy great flood (St. LAURENCE) flows;
And decks with *other's* wreaths his brows,
For flying;

Or curſes ſome oppreſſed nation
With heavy load *Augmentation*;
And ruins trade, by prorogation,
And lying:

In ev'ry art, he mean appears;
As when loud cannons ſtunn'd his ears,
And a WOLFE's fury rais'd his fears,
In battle.

In war, his counſel's 'gainſt the fight;
In peace, the army's his delight;
When troops to trample *civil right*,
Fierce rattle.

Place

Place him in ſun-ſhine of a court,
Where miniſterial tools reſort ;
He'll make the PEOPLE's *wrongs* his ſport
And profit :
Or place him on that hapleſs ſhore,
Where knaves for *Privy Council* roar,
And fools their *birth-right* claim give o'er ;
He'll ſcoff it.
Where e'er he proſtitution meets,
He the apoſtate traitor greets ;
With ſycophants he'll ſtrole the ſtreets,
And quaff it :
And when ſwill'd draughts vexation cure,
At fawning jeſts of wit impure,
And the diſtorted caricature,
He'll laugh it.

LETTER XXII.

TO EDMOND SEXTON PERY, ESQ.*

AMIDST the number of deſerters, who call on me for the performance of my r d, I ſhall firſt fulfil my obligation to you.—The perſon to whom, and the manner in which,

* In December 1769, the Parliament was prorogued, immediately after the Money-bill (which was the only law enacted that ſeſſion) had received the royal aſſent, becauſe the Houſe of Commons had preſumed, not to aſſert, but to reject a bill in ſuch a manner as by inuendo and conſtruction might ſeem to aſſert their right to originate all grants of money. For fourteen months no Parliament was ſummoned to

you have ſucceeded, entitle you to this pre-eminence. You have attracted *induſtriouſly* the publick notice. The chair, which ſeemed to have fallen upon you unawares, you have declared to have been the higheſt point of your ambition; and in your ſpeech to the Lord Lieutenant, you have departed as much from the diſguiſe of your own nature, as from the decency of our forefathers, to proclaim, that you had been ſolicitous to obtain that elevation, which they thought it proper apparently to decline. This, however, was not without example. You had the precedent of that *principled* and *modeſt* Lawyer, Sir Fletcher Norton, to follow; it ſeems, that his having abdicated the profeſſion of the law for the chair of the Commons, is not the only ſimilitude between you.

As your end was concealed, you muſt needs have uſed addreſs to obtain it, and it is matter of curioſity

to meet. At length Adminiſtration finding it abſolutely neceſſary to revive ſome laws that had expired, condeſcended to convene the Parliament, and it met on the 26th of February 1771. Great were the expectations of the people; but on the firſt day of meeting it appeared that the Caſtle had a majority of 25.—The numbers were 132 to 107. Accordingly, inſtead of vindicating their rights, the Houſe of Commons, in an addreſs, moſt humbly thanked his Gracious Majeſty for continuing the wretched inſtrument of an arbitrary Adminiſtration, and the violator of their moſt eſſential privilege, in the Government of Ireland. They alſo voted an addreſs of thanks to the Lord Lieutenant, teſtifying their entire approbation of his conduct. Mr. Ponſonby, rather than preſent this addreſs to the man who had reviled and inſulted both Houſes of Parliament, reſigned the chair of the Houſe of Commons; and the gentleman to whom this letter is addreſſed, was choſen Speaker in his room, by a majority of four voices.

curiosity to trace the windings, by which you have advanced so successfully and so unperceived to your object.

You set out a courtier professed, and in the memorable year fifty-three, were the most strenuous advocate in favour of the altered Money-bill. A fact which I mention from candour, as it marks a happy coincidence between the first and the latest principle of your life. Your zeal, however, at that time, was thought greater than your abilities, and though you asked only a Serjeant's gown as the reward of your labours, it was refused to you. Notwithstanding the mildness of your disposition, this disappointment helped to throw you into opposition the next session, and there you have been found, half-continuing, and half-discontinuing ever since. You have never shone upon us, indeed, with full aspect. You have only been presented to us in profile.

You were a pupil of the late Primate. Your patron was in disgrace in the Marquis of Hartington's Administration, and not better in that of the Duke of Bedford. He opposed clandestinely, and you were the instrument. A man of better parts joined your opposition, and outstripped you. He was appointed Prime Serjeant, and thus an insuperable barrier was raised against your ambitious views in the law.

From that moment you abated in activity, and the native gloom of your countenance assumed a darker shade, from perpetual discontent. You declared,

clared, that you never would accept an office. The deſpair of ambition was ſucceeded by the hopes of avarice, and your mercenary views took the channel of navigation. Bridges were built, and fortifications demoliſhed, to raiſe your eſtate; and Government floated on your own canal into the harbour of the court. Appearances, however, of independence and oppoſition were ſtill to be maintained. Hence the varying guſts, which, though long ſolved by the judicious, ſtill deceived the unwary. The atmoſphere lowered on Government to-day, and to-morrow it was all compoſure. Another Æolus, you preſided over the ſtorms of oppoſition, and let looſe, and recalled the tempeſt, at diſcretion.

This traffic having ſufficiently improved your fortune, you left the Bar, and hence we are to date your aſpirings to your preſent ſtation. To vacate the chair, it was neceſſary to render Mr. Ponſonby weary of that office, and to render Government weary of Mr. Ponſonby. How was this effected? By plunging that gentleman into difficulties, and by pledging him for principles, in both of which you diſcovered your readineſs to abandon him. Had this been done by an open adverſary, it might have been ſtratagem; but, under the guiſe of friendſhip, it might take a name too indelicate for me to mention.

In one inſtance, however, you over-refined; you were guilty of unneceſſary perfidy. Why did you declare to all the world, that you would not be a candidate for the chair whilſt your relation Mr. Brownlow

Brownlow ſtood for it? Why did you promiſe to ſupport him? Why did you engage to ſecond the Marquis of Kildare, who was to propoſe Mr. Brownlow? And why did you break your honour, by rendering it impoſſible that you ſhould perform it? Why did you contrive, that the Secretary ſhould propoſe yourſelf, in the ſame moment that he delivered to the houſe the meſſage from Government to chuſe a Speaker? And why did you thus manage to have yourſelf elected, before Mr. Brownlow could be mentioned, and to defeat your promiſe, before you could be called upon to fulfil it.

THIS is matter of ſome ſurprize. Men, who have even cunning, generally parcel out and manage their departures from honour and virtue. If private faith is to be violated, they endeavour to have the palliation of public fidelity. If they are to be guilty of public defection, private integrity is if poſſible retained in their cauſe. They ſeldom forfeit all political and domeſtic honour in the ſame tranſaction, or leave themſelves deſtitute of every defence. But the time was come when the Maſkwell of the political ſcene was no longer to be diſguiſed. A deſperate plunge was neceſſary.——If you failed, you ſaw that you were undone.—Witneſs the convulſion of your frame during the ſcrutiny of numbers, and your ſpeechleſs extaſy on the declaration of your ſucceſs.

THE crime of Mr. Ponſonby, and of the Houſe of Commons, with reſpect to the Council Money-bill laſt ſeſſion, was, that they concurred in a reſolution modelled and propoſed by you. You have

been

been the moſt forward, notwithſtanding, to forſake yourſelf as well as the public; and, by the inſidious and inſulting benefaction of the court, you have become the inſtrument of conveying flattery to that Viceroy, by whom you were ſo pointedly, and as it were perſonally, condemned from the throne. Were I your enemy, I ſhould rejoice in an event, which has levelled you with Lord Loftus for punctuality of promiſe; which has matched you for delicacy with Sir Fletcher Norton, and which has equalled you to both, in conſiſtence and in dignity. But my wiſhes for the honour of human nature forbid, that I ſhould deſire any ſatisfaction from ſuch a ſource; and make me lament, what otherwiſe were only to be reviled and deteſted.

PASCAL.

LETTER XXIII.

TO THE EARL OF TYRONE.

My Lord, *March* 30, 1771.

HAD you not revolted from the public before I aſſumed the pen, you ſhould have heard from me ſooner. My cenſorſhip I conſidered as ſubſequent to your offence, and therefore I forebore. But a recent and additional deſertion, of a nature not expected in your Lordſhip, a deſertion of your peculiar intereſt and pride, has entitled me to addreſs you.

If, contrary to common ſenſe, you had concurred in the ſcheme of Government to deſtroy all family weight, though the only ſource from which you yourſelf could derive any power, yet we could account for it. Preſent profit overpowers the cuning. A little courtſhip intoxicates the vain. And men, not of the moſt piercing intellects, may eaſily be inſenſible to remoter conſequences. But when you had the chair of the Houſe of Commons on one hand, and a Commiſſioner's place on the other; when the ſhorteſt, or the moſt ſcattering ſight, might have been ſufficient to decide; when, if you could not ſee, you might have felt, the two objects, and have determined their reſpective value by that ſenſe which you poſſeſs, and which one of your political adverſaries had like to have tried——what could have produced your error?

In ſtation the chair was higher; in revenue it was more profitable; and it was more ſecure in tenure. We do not ſpeak of wiſdom; nay, not of ſenſe. Sanity was all that was requiſite to ſee this. The Commiſſioner's place too had been ſtripped of influence, before you could procure it for your brother. A thouſand pounds a year, with a troubleſome attendance, and without patronage, was no great price, for the ſervitude of a proud family, and of ſome following, for three or four years paſt. But who could have thought, that it would have purchaſed the whole inheritance, the fee-ſimple of all your ſervilities?

You

You certainly have given a ſpecimen of temper. It would have provoked another to have been ſet on for two or three days in ſuch a purſuit, and then to be abandoned; eſpecially by a Governor, who ought to have been a friend, and in a matter, which had been avowedly the object of one's life. It would be ſtill more grating, if, were it not for this countermand of Government, one's ſucceſs had been certain. Nor would it be the leaſt trying circumſtance, not only to be ſtripped one's ſelf of an acquiſition, but to be dragooned into an implicit engagement to transfer it to any other perſon that might be named, and thereby to conſign it to an inſidious rival, whom one had always perſonally hated, and politically oppoſed. A man too without rank, without birth, without great poſſeſſions to account for, or to conciliate one to his ſucceſs. A man, not of courtly manners, nor likely to ſoften, or hide, his ſuperiority in the tranſaction. Had he been a young ſimpleton even, it would have been ſome comfort. One would rather have it imputed to the good-fortune of an equal, than that the world ſhould ſee one had been ſo over-reached by an adverſary.

Others applaud your wiſdom, and ſay, that you argued thus with yourſelf: "My brother is "young.——None of my family come to their abi-"lities quickly. He was at the bar, and obliged "to leave it.——He is on trial at the Revenue-"board; and if it will ſcarce do there, where he

" has pen, and ink, and paper, and time to con-
" ſider, how much worſe might it be in public, and
" on the ſudden? In the chair hated as an apoſ
" tate by oppoſition, and as an extortioner by go-
" vernment, all parties would unite to puzzle
" him. It will not do. Let him ſtay ſafe at the
" Board. There he will have the friendly abilities
" of Oſborne to direct him; and what Govern-
" ment can be jealous, or what foe can envy him,
" whilſt he has Allen by his ſide?"

YOUR friends go farther. They ſay that peo-
ple miſtake, who think that you receded without
a reaſon. They alledge, though you could not
turn the promiſes of your friends to as much ad-
vantage as you intended, yet, that you ſold them
as high as you could. They ſuggeſt, that if one
brother relinquiſhed the mace, a mitre was ſtipu-
lated for another. In proof of which, they urge
the extreme alacrity with which your little ſqua-
dron rode into the field for Mr Perry, and with
which even that old, caſt, troop-horſe, poor Fitz-
gibbon, trotted to the Caſtle-yard upon that occa-
ſion, to make part of the auction that was hold-
ing for his ſon-in-law.

THERE are ſome, indeed, who ſpeak of you in
a different tone. There are ſome, who ſay, that
you were never ranked more than one degree above
an idiot, until the year fifty-three, when you enter-
ed the councils of the patriots in the character of a
ſpy. That in the earlier period of your political
life, you were the tool and the jeſt of the late Pri-
mate.

mate. That in the feminine Adminiſtration of the Lord Briſtol you for the firſt time began to traffic on your own account. That from that hour to this, there never has been a public queſtion, in which you and yours have not fairly gone to market.—That Miniſters thought at firſt you had ſenſe, becauſe you were venal, but that they have found your folly ſuperior even to your corruption. That for the future, you will be but a part of the gilded trumpery of the court, without importance, or value, and that, as there is no ignominy which you will not bear, there is no inſult which they will not offer.

THIS is the language of your greateſt enemy: it is the language of your own breaſt.

PASCAL.

LETTER XXIV.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.

SIR, *April* 3, 1771.

IN looking over ſome old papers I found the following hiſtory of Barataria, which, for the ſatisfaction of the curious, you are at liberty to publiſh.

I am, &c.

AN OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENT.

* THE HISTORY OF BARATARIA CONTINUED.

THE laſt aſſembly of the States, immediately after they had granted Government an augmentation of military ſtrength, and ſupplies of unuſual magnitude, were ſummoned before the awful tribunal of Sancho, where they were reviled, inſulted, and diſcharged†.—They were diſcharged without having been permitted to deliberate on any ordinance of public concern, or exerciſe one power of legiſlation, excepting only that of munificence and taxation. It was in vain the voice of the people echoed from every quarter of the kingdom, complaining that the reward of their liberality had been a privation of their rights, and that parliament had been diſcontinued, becauſe Government had been ſatisfied. The deputies of the people had been beyond all example bountiful.—but their crime was, that their reſolutions were conſtrued to *imply* an opinion, that theſe bounties being the bounties of the people, *their* deputies were more competent to proportion and aſcertain them, than the deputies of *Government*, which was only to accept them, and accept them with gratitude.—Sancho ſat in his caſtle or cottage (for his habitations, as his habits, were various) ſuperior to any ſenſe of the evils he had occaſioned, or the injuries he had

* This hiſtory was originally publiſhed in detached portions in the Freeman's Journal in April and May 1771. but being a continued narration, it has been thought proper to print it all together in one piece.

† See Letters 9 and 10, and the Appendix No. 1. 3.

had inflicted. The decay of trade, the ruin of public credit, the violation of private engagements, the doubt of every good man, the diſtruſt of all, were the objects, and the means, of his adminiſtration. If he could break the reſolution of the virtuous, and diſappoint the confidence of honourable engagements he thought, that in the end he might defeat all laudable aſſociation, and by burſting the bonds of affinity and connexion, by degrees, diſſolve all ties to the country.

THERE was a man in Barataria, whoſe name was Henrico; the Count Loſtonzo—a man high in rank—eminent in poſſeſſions—who inherited the great qualifications of a numerous *following*;—but in early life ſo humble had been his condition, that a connexion with an illuſtrous family was ſcarcely able to preſerve his perſon from obſcurity, or his circumſtance from indigence.—the near relations of affinity ſeemed to have had a laudable direction, when for a courſe of years they had been employed in furniſhing ſhelter to the man in Barataria, who moſt ſtood in need of it.——Don John, a Chief of high rank and an illuſtrous houſe, had long enjoyed the firſt power, and moſt extenſive influence, in Barataria——To this perſon the Count had united himſelf in early life; before wealth and honours had directed their current towards him; and whilſt as yet fortune continued to frown, where Nature had frowned before.——Don John was a man, who to *eminent* qualities added unuſual *ſoftneſs* of ſoul——He recollected, that Henrico was his kinſman, which

is a circumſtance amongſt the ties of humanity.—He was poor, and John had compaſſion on him.—He was friendleſs, and he acknowledged him.—He therefore employed his powerful interpoſition, to procure a ſubſiſtence from the ſtate, for Henrico.—And even condeſcended to attend to female-infirmity, ſo far, as by a public ſtipend, to enable his wife to purchaſe certain ſilken apparel, and play at certain coſtly games, which, tho' they were above her rank and fortune, were not above her ambition, or her vanity. Thus it happened that Henrico had faithfully adhered to Don John, whilſt the latter had *power*, or the former *wanted protection*.—But when Sancho commenced his attack on the freedom of Barataria, by depriving her of her Cortes.—Henrico through the wantonneſs of Fortune, had become enriched by great poſſeſſions—diſtinguiſhed by honours, and fortified by powerful dependencies. Sancho judged, that as Henrico no longer ſtood in need of aſſiſtance, he no longer remembered the aſſiſtance he had received—He applied himſelf to the Count— and beſought him, " to caſt away from his mind all idle " obligations, and ſeparate himſelf from all con- " nexions with Don John, his kinſman—that he " ſhould not conform his conduct to the dictates " of gratitude, leaſt it might appear to be the reſult " of dependence—that he ſhould join and aſſoci- " ate his *great power*, his *great connexions*, his *ho- " nourable name*, his *high abilities*, his *profound for- " titude*, and *captivating manners*, with the Court " of Barataria, under the direct influence, and im-

mediate

" mediate ſuperintendance, of the Spaniſh Miniſ-
" try. Thus, that the *honours* of Old Spain, and
" the *plunder* of Barataria, would dignify him, and
" his *dependants*.

THUS far had the artifice of Sancho applied itſelf to the *weakneſs* and *vanity* of Henrico.—And though this addreſs was in itſelf likely to be crowned with ſucceſs, yet as the friends of Barataria were not to be indulged with one caſt on the die in their favour, matters of *probability only* were rejected, as inſufficient authorities for entering upon the great project of Sancho's adminiſtration.

ABSURDITY and ambition, 'tis true, had occupied a fair proportion of the mind of Henrico; yet did it likewiſe entertain ſeveral humbler gueſts, —amongſt which the hiſtorians of his day have enumerated a *perception of danger*. Great as his poſſeſſions were, the tenure was precarious.—They were not the *rights of inheritance*, nor the *acquirements of purchaſe*; but we rather conſider them as enjoyed under the title of conqueſt. The rightful heir had, as hiſtorians relate, been diſappointed by the teſtament of the late Count Loftonzo Hume-Eli, over whoſe imbecility Henrico ſo far triumphed, as to compel him to a ſurrender of his maternal demeſnes into the hands even of Henrico himſelf. But ſtill, tho' the enjoyment of thoſe poſſeſſions was delightful, the duration of that enjoyment appeared to the fears of Henrico as capable of doubt. The free-will gifts of captivity,

and the diſpoſing powers of mental incapacity, were matters at which the laws might cavil.

THIS apprehenſion in the mind of Henrico was to be a new key to his converſion; for the management of which, an inſtrument, entirely proportioned to the purpoſe had been ſelected.

THERE was at that time in Barataria a man named *Philip*—who was by birth a Moor, by profeſſion an advocate. He was become the firſt companion and counſellor of Sancho; into the dark repoſitory of whoſe boſom did he pour the ſallies of his jocularity, and the ſecrets of his adminiſtration. Don Philip was likewiſe *General Attorny* of the States, and Judge of the Teſtamentory Court.

WHETHER we conſider the qualities he had, or thoſe he had not, we find him alike accompliſhed for the preſent undertaking. He was a man formed by nature, and faſhioned by long practice, for all manner of court intrigue. His ſtature was low, ſo as to excite neither envy, nor obſervation—his countenance diſmal—his public manners grave, and his addreſs humble. But, as in public he covered his proſtitution by a ſolemnity of carriage, ſo in private he endeavoured to captivate by convivial humour; and to diſcountenance all public virtue, by the exerciſe of a perpetual, and ſometimes not unſucceſsful, irony.

BY theſe arts he recommended himſelf to the late Cardinal Lapidaro, and Don Thomaſo del Cartero: the two moſt crafty ſtateſmen—the De Retz

Retz and Machiavel of their age: under whom he ſtudied, and againſt whom, at times, he exerciſed the myſtery of politics.

To theſe qualifications Don Philip added an extraordinary magnificence of living.—His table was furniſhed with every thing that ſplendor could ſuggeſt, or luxury conſume; and his profuſion and policy united to ſolicit a multitude of gueſts. To his houſe then reſorted all thoſe, who wiſhed through him to obtain, or to learn from him to enjoy without remorſe, thoſe public emoluments, which are the purchaſe of infidelity.

Amongst the vitſiors of Don Philip was a youth, hitherto of fair fame, and gentle endowments—Don Helena, the civilian—who lately had accepted the office of menial counſellor to Loſtonzo. Through him therefore a new communication was to be opened with the Count.

Thus by an unſuſpected channel were new terrors added to the natural timidity of Henrico. He was informed, "that the title to his extenſive territory depended on a teſtament, the validity of "which was determinable within Don Philip's juriſdiction.—That by adhering to old engage-"ments and national regards, he would forfeit that "*friendly diſpoſition* in his judge, which is ſo ne-"ceſſary to *equal juſtice*.———That the final ad-"judication of this great cauſe reſided in the ſu-"preme aſſembly of the grandees in Spain, where "Sancho had a ſuffrage; which ſuffrage the Count "might enſure, or alienate, as his conduct ſhould

"be

" be friendly or hoſtile to his government in Bara-
" taria.——That in times of ſimplicity and igno-
" rance, the Spaniſh Nobles had reſtrained their
" judgments within the rigid precepts of law, and
" the auſterities of juſtice; but that of late, re-
" finement of manners had broken through thoſe
" harſh reſtrictions, and legal ſeverity yielded to
" the ſofter influence of favour and affection."

He proceeeed to pour into the ears of the Count, inſtances of this high refinement in the grandees of Spain; and one eſpecially, which had fallen even within the limited knowledge of Loftonzo himſelf,——*the late deciſion in favour of the Count Ponfretto, reſpecting the collierits of Andaluſia.*

These arguments made a ſufficient impreſſion on the mind of Henrica. But Sancho having particular reaſon to know how little reliance is to be had on the promiſes of fear, or the attachments of infidelity, thought that no ſecurity had been taken for the allegiance of the Count, whilſt there yet remained any further bond, whereby to render the tie indiſſoluble. The conſideration of fame and fortune had been notably diſcuſſed, and dexterouſly reconciled.——And tho' views of ambition and intereſt had gained ground on the mind of Loftonzo, there was another power that held the dominion of the ſoul.

The Counteſs, his conſort, was a lady of ſingular ſpirit and magnanimity—and though her birth and fortune had been beneath mediocrity, yet did ſhe poſſeſs a ſtately and aſpiring mind,

which

which taught her to forget the humility of her origin. She preferred that ſovereign authority over the Count, which gave ſatisfaction to every advocate for *female pre-eminence*,—ſhe was his ſuperior in capacity—ſhe was his ſuperior as his *creditor*.—For the Counteſs had *legal* demands upon her lord, which, though he was crowned with wealth and honours, he was yet unable to diſcharge; thus his ſubjection was the ſubjection of an inſolvent debtor.

The Counteſs therefore had been compelled to transfer her thoughts to poſterity, and the reverſions of her grandeur, to her niece *Donna Dorothea Del Monroſe*———And here, did the gravity of hiſtory, and the importance of the ſubject, admit it,—here could we reſt for pages, from the travel of ſtory, and indulge the pureſt rapture in contemplating the perfection of this lovely maiden.—Her ſtature was majeſtic, but her air and demeanour was *nature itſelf*.—The peculiar ſplendor of her carriage was ſoftened and ſubdued by the moſt affable condeſcenſion; and as ſenſibility gave a luſtre to her eye, ſo diſcretion gave a ſecurity to her heart.—And indeed, whilſt her charms inſpired univerſal rapture, the authority of her innocence regulated and reſtrained it.——The ſofteſt roſes that ever youth and modeſty poured out on beauty, glowed on the lips of Dorothea.——Her cheeks were the bloom of Hebe, and the purity of Diana was in her breaſt.—Never did beauty appear ſo amiable, nor virtue ſo adorned, as in this incomparable virgin! In her progreſs through the Courts

Courts of Arragon and Navarre, ſhe had been exhibited to the Princes of the Continent, and returned in the poſſeſſion of humble manners.—Several had ſolicited her in marriage, but the refined policy of her protectors always interpoſed againſt her, and reſerved her to become the innocent inſtrument of a national evil.——But let us not be ſuppoſed to glance a thought againſt your purity, lovely Dorothea!—Whatever be your fortune, or wherever you go, you will retain yourſelf.———If in public ſplendor and exalted ſtation, you will carry with you humility and moderation——If inauſpicious deſtiny ſink you to the rank of humble condition, your beauties will adorn, and your virtues dignify, your retreat!

SANCHO, ſome time after his arrival in Barataria, ſuſtained an heavy affliction; which was attended with one notable peculiarity—that of being the ſingle inſtance, wherein the ſentiments of the Baratarians, and their Governor, had been united or ſimilar.—Death had deprived him of the Baroneſs Feraro, his conſort—a lady of high birth and fortune, adorned by the moſt eminent virtues and amiable manners.——Wherever her influence could extend, it was the influence of benefaction ——and where her power could not *gratify*, her affability *conciliated*. To her lord ſhe left every thing to lament——ſhe was the ſplendor of his ſtation; ſhe was the ſolace of his *hours of ſobriety*—— and if any thing like refinement grew about his palace or his perſon, it was the hand of the Baroneſs that planted it there.

AND

And here muſt we give the praiſes which are due to the generoſity and candour of the people of Barataria. At this time, though they ſaw, that the conſtitution of their country had been invaded, their commerce deſtroyed, and their condition deſperate ——yet did they here forget *themſelves*, and caſt away from their minds all ſenſe of their injuries.—Here, generous compaſſion ſuſpended their juſt reſentment——Here, their lamentations were poured out at the tomb of departed excellence, and here did they mingle their tears with the tears of their undoer. And indeed the hiſtory of all ages has repreſented thoſe benevolent iſlanders as a people zealous of their teſtimony to ſuperior merit, wherever they have found it—whether amongſt adverſaries, or friends——in the camp of the enemy, or the laurels of a competitor.—On this event they lamented, that ſo much virtue had *departed*—that ſo little had been *left behind.*

Though this was matter of ſincere concern to Sancho's heart, it however became a new circumſtance of power to his adminiſtration. The firſt ſtation in female pre-eminence was now unoccupied; and there was a vacancy, as it were, in the firſt office under the Governour——even a participation of the throne of Vicegerency.

As this was the firſt office open to female ambition, it is not to be wondered at, that the Counteſs Loftonzo was the firſt to aſpire at it——ſhe communicated the phrenzy of this ſentiment to the Count——adding, in an extacy of grandeur,

" that

" that the world ſhould ſee her niece, Donna Do-
" rothea del Monroſo, raiſe her head above the
" proudeſt families of the iſland—that ſhe would
" ſuſtain with dignity, and embelliſh by her ac-
" compliſhments, the vacant chair in the chamber
" of carouſals." And, thus far indeed, the Counteſs had ſpoken the language of truth——and our vows ſhould have accompanied hers to heaven, were the accompliſhment of them to be the felicity of Dorothea.——But, lovely maiden, may your charms never be bartered in unwarrantable traffick!——May fortune, or artifice, never place you in a ſtation to which the moſt refined attachment ſhall not ſelect you!——May you fill the high rank to which your bright endowments give you title; but never become the ſplendid mourner of a parent's ambition!——Sancho ſaw this extravagance growing in the mind of the Counteſs, and determined to cultivate it.——Every thing that *incoherent ſentences* and a *diſtracted manner* could ſuggeſt, was accepted by the Counteſs, as a confirmation of her wiſhes; a *natural perplexity, and embarraſſment of elocution*, were *the confuſion of real paſſion*——and *ambiguous inference*, as it was unintelligible, was ſuppoſed to convey a *ſolemn declaration of love.*

THIS, however, was ſufficient to ſatisfy the mind of the Counteſs; and therefore Sancho obtained the object of his induſtry.——He ſaw not, it is true, the roſes in the cheek of Dorothea, but he enumerated the ſuffragans in the train of Loftonzo. As to the Counteſs, her imagination was on fire!——

It

It already preſented to her, her niece, the incomparable Dorothea, crowned Vice-queen of the iſland of Barataria; her Lord Loſtonzo diſtinguiſhed by all the coronets of all his anceſtry; and the deputyſhip of the iſland conferred on him, at the departure of Sancho. Every thing was accompliſhed in her ardent mind; and ſports and paſtimes——tilts and tournaments——dance and feſtivity, were proclaimed throughout the Caſtle and the foreſts of Rafarmo.——The ſmile of Dorothea was to be the prize of chivalry; and her hand in the dance, the trophy of the Governour's preeminence!

THUS were the politics of Sancho brought to a fair iſſue. His confidence in the Count was not now written in *the ſand of promiſe*, or the *frail memorial of benefits conferred*;——it was not built upon a rock.——The bonds of Loſtonzo were links of iron.

AT this critical ſeaſon, letters came to Sancho from the Government of Spain, full of warlike rumours, and threatening general commotions. Theſe letters brought intelligence, "that the Monarch of the Weſtern Iſles had declared war againſt Don Franciſco Bucarelli, the Governour of Buenos Ayres; and that as the Court of Spain might poſſibly aſſiſt, and avow, Don Franciſco, it was neceſſary that Barataria ſhould be rendered defenſible; her armies augmented, her forts repaired, and her garriſons ſupplied with the neceſſaries of war."

SANCHO

SANCHO wrote a dispatch to the Viscount Boreoso, prime minister of Spain (of whose character and conduct we shall hereafter have occasion more fully to treat) which he sealed with his own hand, and which he committed to the conveyance of Don Edwardo Swanzero, his friend, his counsellor, and his musician. And, however unaccountable it may seem to posterity, certain it is, that of all Sancho's retainers, this Swanzero held the greatest share in his confidence.——He was then chosen to be the trusty messenger; and as the winds were adverse at the Capital, he was obliged to take the southern circuit, and embark for Spain at the port of O'Corko—with the strictest injunctions, however, to yield to no temptations of delay, nor even to pay a one-night's visit to the old bishop of Toledo, whose villa was within a league of O'Corko; notwithstanding the partialities and favours, with which this right rev. prelate has been accustomed to entertain the *Family* of Swanzero.

IN this letter he informed the Viscount, "that "through the obstinacy of the feudal lords, and "Don John the commoner, the country of Bara-"taria had been reduced to poverty and tumult; "that the revenues were diminished, the exche-"quer almost bankrupt, and Government had nei-"ther legal authority, nor public confidence, to "enable them to borrow money.——That for his "part, he had acted as became a faithful servant, "and a prudent governour, in this season of scar-"city and discredit——That he had stopped pay-"ment of the pensions to the widows of the de-

"ceased

" ceaſed officers, and withheld the wages of all pub-
" lic artificers. That this inſtance of frugality and
" moderation had again enabled the royal munifi-
" cence to take its courſe, which was a current
" that, under the auſpices of his majeſty's arm, no
" oppoſition—no pleas of incapacity, or famine,
" ſhould ever obſtruct, or retard.—That the prin-
" ceſs dowager of Naples had been *gratified*, by the
" grant of a conſiderable penſion to her favourite,
" Don Jeremiah Dyſonzo; not only to himſelf,
" but to his poſterity; notwithſtanding *the ſolemnity*
" *of the Royal Word, pledged to the contrary.* And
" that he had taken this opportunity of informing
" the Baratarians, once for all, *That the power of*
" *a Monarch would be love indeed, if his promiſes*
" *were to be conſidered, as reſtrictions on his will*—
" That a ſtipend on Barataria had rewarded the fi-
" delity and ſervice of Don Bradſhozo, the friend
" and aſſiſtant, the ſcrivener and the ſlave, of the
" duke Fitzroyola; a nobleman who ſhall tranſ-
" mit his name with honour to poſterity, as the
" great author of that illuſtrious policy, which
" finally transferred to the *Cortes*, thoſe rights of
" election, which formerly reſided in, and frequent-
" ly divided, *the People.*"——That, without boaſt-
ing of his ſervices,——for he was not vain!——
he muſt further inform the Viſcount, " That
" where any of the great offices in Barataria pro-
" duced enormous ſtipends to the occupier, and no
" benefit to the public, he had thought it neceſſary
" to his Majeſty's honour and ſervice, that there

" ſhould

" ſhould be a proper augmentation of the ſalary—
" and that he had accordingly made an annual ad-
" dition of four thouſand crowns to the ſalary of
" one of the king's ſervants, as a reward and in-
" demnification for his trouble and expence, in col-
" lecting a revenue, the whole of which had, by
" royal grant, become his own property.——That
" after ſuch acts of *public ſervice*, not even the
" ſtoppage made on widows, and the infirm, the
" deduction of wages, and œconomy towards the
" poor, were yet ſufficient to furniſh Government
" with the means of fortifying the iſland.—That if
" war was *probable*, money was *indiſpenſable*; and
" that ſupplies could, at that time, be only procur-
" ed by calling the *Cortes* together; as delicacy
" and reſerve ought to recommend the beginning
" of every great project; and as the people were
" not yet entirely reconciled to the idea of being
" taxed only by the *private council* of the Monarch.
" ——This in order to render the convention of
" the national aſſembly practicable, and its conſe-
" quences auſpicious, the great Count Loſtonzo,
" with his houſhold, had enliſted under the royal
" banner—and that, as the Count's fortitude and
" fidelity were to be ſuſpected, he ſhould take all
" precautions to prevent his *deſertion*; that, dur-
" ing the truce, he would have him narrowly
" watched in his caſtle; and, in the day of trial, he
" would place him, and his retainers, in the front
" of the battle. And thus, by exhibiting this *glar-*
" *ing* inſtance of apoſtacy, ſhould he give ſuch a
" wound to the credit of all private faith, and

" public

" public conſiſtency, the bonds of honour, of grati-
" tude, and of blood, as muſt ultimately tend to
" diſſolve all thoſe obſtinate connexions, which had
" hitherto been an obſtruction to the power of the
" Crown."

THE ſpirited endeavours of Sancho to propagate private perfidy, and purchaſe the violation of public truſts, were not indeed confined to the nobleman of Rafarmo. The whole powers of ſeduction were now employed againſt the country. To every man, who had a vote in the Cortes, was offered that proportion of the public plunder, at which even his own partiality could eſtimate his own merit—Every office had been expoſed to ſale, the poſſeſſor of which was ſuſpected from his integrity, or unmanageable from his independent ſpirit. ——New boards were held out to the intereſted; and to obtain titles and honours, it was only neceſſary, *to be vain, and to be venal.*—Even holy biſhoprics themſelves, hitherto held ſacred and unſaleable, were to be taxed with ſymonical annuities to purchaſe the ſurrender of civil offices, or hawked about the Iſland, as a merchandize in traffick, to any power or connexion, that was enabled to become the purchaſer, by a property of votes in the aſſembly of the people.

AND not only the vices, but the virtues of the people, were made inſtruments againſt them; for, as avarice is ever rapacious, and ambition aſpiring, ſo generoſity is but too often neceſſitous, and benevolence deluded by a glimpſe of power to diſplay itſelf.

itſelf. The adminiſtration of juſtice through the ſheriffs of the ſeveral counties, was to be bought and ſold by parliamentary conduct; and the army was ſtationed either for inſult or protection, as favour or reſentment diſpoſed the arrangement.

NEVER did the myſteries of corruption make ſuch a progreſs as at this period.——The poſſeſſions of the incorruptible——The reverſions of old age——the offices of thoſe who had been purchaſers by ſervice, but were not of the ſenate——even the ſlender ſupport of tottering infirmity, were all bartered, and ſold to thoſe, who had the reſolution *to ſacrifice their country.*

AND here we ſhould be happy, in reciting the catalogue of the ſeduced, and undone—of thoſe who ſtooped their heads to corruption, and opened their hands to gain—happy ſhould we be, if the baſe and ignoble, the deſperate of condition, and the loſt to fame, were alone to be found!

WHILST this traffick was carried on in Barataria, unfortunately it was the only trade which at this time the country had to boaſt of;——the balance of which commerce, being indeed againſt them, was likely to be *the loſs of their liberty.*

DURING this great inveſtigation of reſources, and play of politics,——when the fore-tellers for adminiſtration counted a majority of twenty againſt their country, it came to paſs, that the King of the Iſlands ſtruck his flag to Don Franciſco Bucarelli; and therefore the governour of Buenos Ayres condeſcended

deſcended to accept a temporary accommodation, which had been propoſed between them.

THE aſſembling the Cortes in Barataria was not now *neceſſary*, on the principle of preſervation; but it was judged *expedient*, on the conſtruction of policy. The triumph of the Crown over the conſtitutional dignity of that great aſſembly, and the people of which it was repreſentative, was thought by the jealous friends of power, as imperfect and incomplete, until it ſhould be reconvened *before the very governour*, who had been the immediate inſtrument of the injuries, and inſults, they had received. Sancho's heart was devoted to the idea of adding this wreath to the laurels of America. And indeed it was an heart compoſed of the moſt extraordinary materials in nature!—But as we ſhall hereafter, * in the courſe of this hiſtory, give poſterity an entire portrait of this wonderful character, we ſhall for the preſent proceed to relate thoſe ſeveral parts of his conduct, which are but ſo many features of the great piece we ſhall attempt to draw.

INSPIRED with the noble ambition of deciding finally, if poſſible, this great conſtitutional point againſt the freedom of Barataria, and of *inſulting* where he had *detracted*; Sancho aſſembled the venerable Junto of the cabinet, and ſtating to them his *determination*, he deſired their *counſel*.

THE members of this political conclave were perſons of the firſt offices in the ſtate, whoſe advice had

* See the laſt Letter in this volume.

had always the greateſt *authority* with the governour, as it was always accompanied with the greateſt *acquieſcence*. And, as we may hereafter, in the progreſs of this national ſtory, have frequent occaſion to conſider them, we ſhall here give an enumeration of them in detail.

THIS Council conſiſted of Baron Goreannilli, an Italian, the Inquiſitorial Juſticiary——Don Franciſco Andrea del Bumperoſo, Preſident of the Academy of letters; and the chevalier Don Georgio Buticartny, a Poliſh knight; admitted as a ſecretary, *not a miniſter*.—Don Antonio, the Precedenza, ——Don John Alnagero, Prime Advocate,——— Don Philip the Moor, and Don Godfredo Lilly, Solicitor of the Crown.

BEFORE this great aſſembly did Sancho open this mighty project of his ſoul.——He ſpoke to them, through the mouth of Don Philip, and informed them, "in the firſt place, *of the ſucceſs of* "*his Majeſty's bribes all over the iſland.*——He told "them of his determination to call the Aſſemblies "*before himſelf*——as a means of degrading the "Commons, and aſſerting the authority of his own "*proteſt*. That it would be an experiment without hazard: as it was not the ſeaſon for aſking "any thing *on his part*—and the virtue of a prorogation was ever at hand, to prevent any acquiſition in behalf of the people. That as things "ſtood at preſent, it appeared improbable, that "the Spaniſh Court would continue *him* in the "government of the iſland, when the critical "time

" time ſhould come, in which the army and the
" revenues were to be negotiated in the Cortes,
" unleſs he were to exhibit ſome antecedent exem-
" plifications of his proweſs——That the ſucceſs of
" this ſhort convention might render probable his
" retaining the dominion of the iſland for another
" year. But above all, that the manly Proteſt
" with which he concluded the laſt meeting, was
" not perfect, or conſummate, being as yet the de-
" claration of *one of the parties only*, and rejected
" from the journals of the other.———Whereas,
" if the Commons could be *brought* to pour out
" their incenſe, and load him with *encomiums*? it
" would be deemed, that they relinquiſhed their
" claims with their reſentments; and their conduct
" would imply not merely an *acquieſcence*, but a for-
" mal *ratification* of the charge, which he boaſted
" to have brought againſt them.—Moreover, that
" the great Count Loſtonzo was deeply impreſſed
" with thoſe ſentiments.———And that if pro-
" miſes, without limitation, recommended by oaths,
" and confirmed by *ſome* performances, were capa-
" ble of ſeducing the heart of man, a majority
" ſhould be procured to deliver up this fortreſs in-
" to the hands of the Crown.———And finally
" that Don Renaldo, the grand Corregidor of the
" capital, was devoted to the intereſts of the Court;
" and would eaſily obtain from the oppidary aſſem-
" bly, an addreſs to the Sovereign, petitioning for
" a general convention of the States.——And at
" the ſame time, the faithful Renaldo ſhould have
" a precaution, by the tenor of this addreſs, to

" renounce every conſtitutional title in the people
" to the Cortes——That it ſhould be aſked as a
" *favour*, and not a right——that it ſhould be
" *ſupplication*, and not *claim*.—Thus the meeting of
" the Senate, which would really be a political ex-
" periment, and a probable confirmation of the
" bondage of Barataria, would be trumpeted thro'
" the kingdom, as if it were a gracious benevolence
" yielded to the petition of duty—a royal conceſ-
" ſion to the wiſhes of the people."

WHATEVER different purſuits, or objects in life may have governed the ſentiments of the ſeveral perſons who compoſed this conclave, certain it is, that there were ſcarcely one of them, who had not an intereſt in the aſſembling of the Cortes, at all events. It would be the harveſt, and they were labourers——It would be the *time of ſervice*; and, though their *Standing Wages* were exorbitant, yet did they moreover expect to receive *daily hire*, and *occaſional booty*.——The ſervants of the law might be appointed itinerant juſtices, but ſuffered neither to travel, nor to judge——In ſhort, to do no part of the duty, but accept the emolument; and Baron Goreanelli, the Italian, imagined, that by *being ready* to aſſiſt the prolocutor of the nobles, he might perhaps ground a ſort of claim to wages, though his ſervices were neither demanded, performed, nor expedient.

AMONGST thoſe Chiefs of conſultation, one only gave counſul againſt this favourite meaſure—— Don Antonio, the Precedenza; a man of great conſideration!——And indeed it is impoſſible to

mention

mention that perſonage in the page of hiſtory, without ſtopping to make ſome obſervation on ſo extraordinary a character.

NATURE had enriched the Precedenza with great endowments——To a benign and dignified aſpect, and addreſs, both conciliating and authoritative, did he join the cleareſt head that ever conceived, and the ſweeteſt tongue that ever uttered, the ſuggeſtions of wiſdom. He did not, it is true, poſſeſs the wit and vivacity of Alnagero, nor the political craft, or wordly ſcience, of Don Philip, the Moor; but his underſtanding was of the firſt magnitude.—It is however obſervable of Don Antonio, that, with all thoſe eminent faculties, he never, during the courſe of a long political life, was united with a party that did not deceive him; and with a temper of mind, unfortunately but too deſirous of acquiſition, did he ſhare leſs of the public treaſure than almoſt any man, who had ever looked for favours at the hand of power. For ſome part of his life, he filled one of the higheſt offices in judgment; which he executed with ſuch ability, as ſtands unparalleled in the records of judicature. And as he was raiſed to that office *for his capacity*, he was diſpoſſeſſed of it *for his virtue.*

With a manly and becoming ſpirit did Antonio, at this time, ſtand foremoſt, in difference with the Crown. He *diſputed* that wicked encroachment, which would ſtrip the repreſentative of the community of their natural and indiſpenſible rights of *originating*, *adjuſting*, and *proportioning*, thoſe ſupplies, which are ever the free-will gifts of grati-

tude and love, to protection and government.—— Though this act of *Reſiſtance*, as it was called, did not fall within the exercife of his *judicial capacity*, yet as it was an act of *integrity*, it was thought by the Court as a diſqualification in him for the office of a Judge.—He was therefore diſmiſſed, and a man *better qualified* was appointed to ſucceed him.

And here ſhould we be happy, if, for the honour of human nature, and the reverence we bear to this illuſtrious perſon, we were permitted to paſs over the recital of ſome features, which render this piece leſs admirable!—Happy! if the eminent qualities of this great man did not mix with others in their current, which were ſufficient to humble his ſuperiority, and gratify the malice of his enemies.——But *Character* would be uninſtructive to poſterity, if it were not to be *fully* delineated; and hiſtory a falſhood, if it declared not the whole truth.

Though the effects of an enlightened underſtanding made Antonio perpetually prefer right to wrong.——Though he had no children to provide for, and already enjoyed conſiderable eſtates,—Nay, even though ſome authors have aſſerted, that he had not the avarice of accumulation, and certainly he had not the neceſſities of prodigality, ——Though he had the mines of Golconda in the practice of his profeſſion, yet did he deſcend from his eminence of character and condition, to the exercife of a low money-traffick; in which he is even accuſed by the writers of his day, (influenced perhaps by the fervour of the time, and the acrimony

of

of public diſappointment) of having employed that very legal knowledge, which had lately been the honour of his name, and the benefit of his country, in order to defend the bills that he iſſued, from the controul of the laws, and fruſtrate the ſecurity which the publick had in his counter—Afterwards having made ſome atonement to his country by a ſpirited reſiſtance to the cabinet ſubſidy, he, as it were, relented of his reformation——and having *ſubmitted* to *accept* from Government, a *precedency*, which Nature had given him before, and which the King could not take from him, he, in the popular aſſembly, and in the face of the people, not only embraced, but adopted the very child, he before declared to be illegitimate, and infamous. He now protected that ſubſidy in the Cortes, which he before had ſo ſignally abjured in the cabinet.

And indeed, it was matter of great wonder at that time, that a perſon of his wiſdom ſhould ſo ſuddenly ſhift an opinion—That one of his dignity and character ſhould adopt inconſiſtency and degradation—and that a man of the moſt unparalleled powers of memory ſhould ſo ſpeedily forget the injuries he had received.

As for his eloquence, it was in its nature peculiar. It flowed in a clear and copious ſtream, with grace and majeſty; but it never diverſified its courſe, or tranſgreſſed its limited boundary.——Through the ſeveral regions of argument, it moved with unaltered current, whether it paſſed through the wilds of America, or the flowry plains of Andaluſia:—Good ſenſe and great comprehenſion, were the

characters of his mind, rather than that ſtrength, and ardour, and variety, which glow in the performances of the antient orators.——He was formed to be the Firſt, perhaps, in times of tranquillity, but muſt have yielded to ſeveral, in the days of ſpirit and of enterprize.————In ſhort, he was a perſon almoſt always to be admired, but never much to be feared.

And, indeed, various inconſiſtencies and irreconcileable qualities, ſeemed to mix in the character of this great man. It is not enough to ſay, that he had a mind ſuperior to revenge, or perſonal reſentment;——He appeared to have been inſpired, as it were, with gratitude for injuries.—As to his legal knowledge, it was incontrovertible; yet, from ſome peculiarity which ever attended him, certain it is, that even the titles at law, to the very lands he purchaſed, have been reckoned diſputable and precarious.——With the beſt underſtanding, he was generally the dupe of the worſt; and tho' he had natural admiration for virtue, yet did he ſometimes forſake her, even without temptation.

Here we reſt this great character!—And we ſhould rejoice indeed, if hiſtorical fidelity had not compelled us to ſtate ſome ſhades of it, at which humanity may drop a tear of ſympathy; and lament that imperfection of our nature, which ever controuls the arrogance of ſuperiority, and vindicates, in ſome meaſure, the equality of man.

DON ANTONIO was marked, it is true, by ſome of the infirmities of human-kind, but he was diſtinguiſhed, on the other hand, by great and admirable qualities. Let not then the inſolence of human frailty refuſe forgiveneſs to the former; and may poſterity remember *only* the *latter*, and remember them *as objects of imitation!*

DON ANTONIO paid the utmoſt attention to the whole recital of Sancho's politicks. And, indeed, amongſt the ſeveral peculiarities of Antonio, this one was obſervable,——"That as no man ever "ſpoke ſo well as to excite his admiration, ſo no "man ever ſpoke ſo ill as that he did not think him "worthy of attention." He liſtened profoundly to the diſcourſe of every man; he liſtened to the ſleepy tale of Don Philip the Moor.

WHEN this elaborate recapitulation of principles and politicks was brought to a concluſion, Don Antonio did not require much time for weighing its import, and conſequences.—He ſaw clearly, that the raſhneſs of Sancho was not courage, nor the craft of Don Philip wiſdom.——He thought the convention of the Cortes, *at that particular time*, was liable to objections, which would occur, perhaps, at no other ſeaſon.—He therefore gave counſel againſt it.—He obſerved, "that though the po-"pulace frequently misjudge, the great body of "the people are not often, or long, deceived.—— "that in the preſent occaſion, they never would be "perſuaded, that the convening this aſſembly a "few months only before the regular and indiſpen-"ſible ſeaſon of convention, after it had been in-

" terrupted in the midſt of buſineſs, and diſconti-
" nued for above a year, was any other than *an*
" *act of ſtate policy*.——That the mere power of
" reviving or continuing a few laws, without time
" or opportunity to alter or amend them, was in
" truth a ſmall national concern——Eſpecially as
" this meeting would interfere with the itinerary
" progreſs of juſtice, and the ſeaſon of the great
" ſeſſion was ſo near at hand, in which there muſt
" be ample time afforded for all that enquiry and
" deliberation, which alone could give weight and
" authority to laws.——That the very aſſembling
" of the ſtates would in itſelf terminate the durati-
" on of ſeveral laws, which would otherwiſe re-
" main in force.—That if the court were to be vic-
" torious, the nation would be alarmed,——and if
" the popular party were to predominate, thoſe
" laws would become extinct, and Adminiſtration
" would be overturned.—That to call the aſſem-
" bly together, in order to appropriate the diſpoſi-
" tion of that ſum, which had formerly been gran-
" ted to public works, would now be abſurd; as
" the money was not in exiſtence, at leaſt in the
" exchequer; and that, tho' the States were to
" grant it, yet the Crown could not pay it.—And
" above all, that this extorted convention, as it
" would be thought, muſt certainly revive amongſt
" the repreſentative body, that bitter argument,
" with which they had departed, but not departed
" in peace.——That if the accuſtomed offerings of
"the Cortes to the throne, ſhould not convey *en-*
" *comium on the Governor*, Sancho would be degra-

ded

" ded——If they did, they would impeach them-
" ſelves.—But that at all events, thoſe matters of
" delicacy were beſt decided by oblivion.—More-
" over, that the treaſury was entirely exhauſted ;
" and therefore he knew not by what means the
" Governor could purchaſe the ſupport he expected,
" excepting by promiſes.——That if thoſe promiſ-
" es were performed, the ſlender reſources of go-
" vernment would be waſted:——If they were
" broken, the credit of power would be loſt.——
" That experiment in thoſe weighty concerns was
" dangerous.—The beſt reſult is *Tumult* ; the worſt
" *Deſtruction*.——That if his recommendatory
" ſpeech from the throne of majeſty were to diſ-
" claim ſupplies, it would contradict the neceſſities
" of the ſtate ; if it *profeſſed* them, the people
" would ſay, they never were to be aſſembled, but
" to be plundered ; and if it were to be equivocal,
" it would offend all parties. The Crown would
" reſent his caſting a doubt on the neceſſity ; the
" nation would reſent his caſting a fraud on their
" ſecurity.—That though it was an hopeleſs project
" to attempt pleaſing all parties, it was yet exceed-
" ingly unwiſe to ſatisfy none."————Thus, in ſubſtance, did the Precedenza argue with the thoughtleſs—and counſel the determined.—Sancho ſeemed to have accidently heared *a part* of this harangue, and anſwered *the whole* of it with his uſual preciſion.———He obſerved, "That every ſen-
" tence, which had fallen from the lips of Antonio,
" was the language of wiſdom——That his argu-
" ment was the argument of conviction ; and that

" he would accordingly appoint the aſſemblage of " the Cortes, for the twenty-ſixth day of the next moon." He extolled his eloquence, and ob- " ſerved, " That it brought back to his mind the " remembrance of a dear departed brother" but here he inſtantly wiped away a tear, that Nature had raſhly engendered, and inadvertency tolerated; and yielded himſelf to the current of his mind, which ever flowed towards untimely merriment.— He obſerved, " that General Antonio (for ſo he " was pleaſed jocularly to call him) had oftentimes " differed from him in the *Court Martial*——That " he had frequently counſelled againgſt hazarding " an engagement, yet, had however behaved like a " good old ſoldier in the day of battle; though " his hand did not, *at all times*, ſtrike with the vi- " gour of youth———yet he never failed to pro- " mote obedience and good diſcipline, and main- " tain order and government, by his countenance " and example."

To theſe arguments Don Antonio paid that reverence which is due to wiſdom; that ſubmiſſion which is yielded to power. Several other members were preparing to deliver their ſentiments at large, and pay the debt, which they owed *to their own fortunes*, by recommending that purpoſe, which omnipotence had already decided. And certain it is, that when Sancho had once taken his unalterable determination, though counſel ſeemed to become leſs neceſſary, it, however, became much more pleaſant to him to receive it, and advantageous to him who had the diſcretion to offer it. For

when

For when the Chief has once *explained* his ſentiments, there can no longer remain doubt or debate amongſt the counſellors.——Then ſtern advice aſſumes the ſofter breath of compliment; and the diſcharge of duty is nothing more than the effuſions of admiration, and panegyrick. And, indeed, tho' no office is in general more doubtfully received than that of giving counſel, yet the man is for ever recommended by ſome ſecret magick, who turns back, on the perſon he adviſes, the reflected image of his own thoughts and affections.

DON JOHN ALNAGERO, the prime advocate, being a man of ready and dexterous wit, and a copious vocabulary, aroſe to make an offering of his ſentiments on the occaſion; and after having adminiſtered to his infirmity *a cordial*, which he retained in a dram-bottle, *for the purpoſes of debate, according to precedent of the firſt authority*; he proceeded to ſtate the great *importance* of the queſtion under conſideration:—And it is generally imagined he would have made a very eloquent ſpeech, had he not been violently interrupted by a ſudden outrage of vociferation, which iſſued even from the throne of Vice-majeſty——ſcattering through the chambers a ſtrange confuſion of mixed ſounds, but articulating, diſtinct, and intelligible, two words only; namely, *Proteſt* and *Prorogation*.

ALNAGERO, to whoſe ears, it is true, theſe ſounds never conveyed muſick, intreated, "that "his Highneſs would not revive thoſe obſolete, "and invidious topicks, but leave them to the "chances of time, and diſcuſſion of poſterity!"—

For,

For, to bear the teſtimony of juſtice to Alnagero, we muſt confeſs, that he was not amongſt thoſe to whom right and wrong were indifferent.—For, if it were poſſible to unite publick principles, with *great private emolument*, it was ever his wiſh to bear them company.—He beſought the Governor "to pro-" ceed on the buſineſs which at that time ſo pro-" perly engaged their wiſdom—not the *death* or " *diſgrace*, but the *revival* of the great aſſembly of " people."—Amongſt the ſeveral difficulties which Sancho had encountered in his government, no one was *to his feelings* ſo great, as that of ſuppreſſing the extravagant laughter, which the gravity of Alnagero's diſcourſe had now excited in him.———As ſoon as he had diſcharged from his countenance ſomewhat of his untimely merriment, he apoligized (according to his faſhion) to the Prime Advocate for the interruptions he had occaſioned; but aſſured him, "that nothing could be farther " from his wiſh than any renewal of debate on " thoſe ridiculous topicks; and that if the Cortes, " when they aſſemble, ſhould ſay nothing to him " on the ſubject of them, he ſhould, on his part, " obſerve the ſame conſtitutional delicacy and ſi-" lence.—That indeed *Proteſt* and *Prorogation*, were " only the names he had given to two favourite " *Catalonian Beagles*, which had lately been ſent to " him from his eſtates in that province. That " though he had always the greateſt pleaſure in liſ-" tening to the ſpeeches of Alnagero, yet as he felt " an invincible deſire of ſhewing thoſe beagles to " the Baron Goreanelli (who was not only a *Judge*

"but

" but a *ſportſman*, accompliſhed alike for the cabi-
" net and the field) he very ardently wiſhed, that
" the prime advocate ſhould poſtpone the remain-
" der of his moſt *excellent* ſpeech (for excellent he
" was ſure it would have been, had he ſpoken it)
" to another opportunity; and therefore in his ca-
" nine zeal he certainly had, in a manner rather
" abrupt than otherwiſe, called the Scythian Cun-
" ningambo, *Licentiate in Medicine*, and ſuperinten-
" dant of his dogs, his mules, and his children, to
" introduce the beagles into the Council Chamber,
" juſt at the time in which he began the very elo-
" quent ſpeech, in which he had the honour to in-
" terrupt him.—

ALNAGERO at firſt *doubted* of the *decorum* of Sancho in this tranſaction; and well remembring from the record of hiſtory, that a tyrant, who *laughed at decency, and deſpiſed the people*, did once confer magiſtracy on his horſe, he began to entertain a jealous apprehenſion, leſt ſome *monſtrous* promotion might be intended for thoſe dogs of Catalonia; and therefore with great humility obſerved, " That it was a duty incidental to the high legal
" truſt with which he was inveſted, to inform his
" Highneſs, that tho' it might in general be very
" proper, that thoſe, who contributed to the plea-
" ſures of government, ſhould hold the higheſt
" condition in the ſtate, yet he muſt offer it as his
" opinion, that no perſon of the human ſpecies, or
" otherwiſe, can be appointed of the Board of
" Council, without a previous order for that pur-
" poſe, under the Monarch's *manual ſignature*. And

" that

" that he apprehended the preſent king of Spain,
" notwithſtanding his great condeſcenſion in this
" particular, had not *yet* appointed any *Quadrupede*
" of his cabinet, within the circuit of his whole
" dominions; though it was well known, the prin-
" ceſs dowager of Naples, his mother, was *partial*
" to a Calidonian Goat; and the admirable prin-
" ceſs, his conſort, had *almoſt an affection* for a
" beautiful Zebra.

SANCHO, who was *playing with his cheek* during this harrangue, when it was concluded, winked at the Italian nobleman, and called again aloud for *the Beagles*; at the ſame time directing the Chevalier Buticartny to iſſue forthwith the letters of convention, and haſten the licentiate with the whelps of Catalonia.

GOREANELLI, not inſenſible to glory, was flattered——Bumperoſo laughed heartily, as he was wont on ſuch occaſions——Don Antonio did not obſerve the joke—Don Alnagero was diſtreſſed, and looked lively—Don Philip the Moor looked diſmal, but *felt* not the leaſt concern—and as for Don Godfredo Lilly, he was entirely employed in ſpeculation on the *probable* diſguſt of Alnagero, which might open a door to his own promotion; whilſt the whelps were introduced by the Doctor into the Chamber of Conſultation.

WHEN the aſſembly was diſſolved, various were the inferences which the ſeveral members drew from the whole tranſaction, reſpecting the dogs of Catalonia.——In this, however, they entertained *in general* a ſimilarity of ſentiment——"That as each

of

of them (Antonio excepted) saw, that the joke of Sancho was exceedingiy pleasant, so far as it concerned *the rest* of the conclave ——yet when he measured it by the relation, in which it stood towards *himself*, he discovered in this *general* jocularity, some want of *especial* respect."

And here let us not be accused by the supercilious wisdom of unalterable gravity, for having degraded that solemnity of record by the relation of occurrences, light and frivolous!——For where the frivolous have empire, their annals will be levity.—And indeed nothing is low, if it be natural: nor is any thing unobservable to the historian, that tends to unfold or explain the character of man. Here the deepest political experiment was decided; tho' consultation was despised——though the counsel was not given——though the speeches were yet unspoken——But the Viceroy, in the chambers of gravity at least, exhibited his beagles to the Justiciary of the land.

Don Alexandro Cuningambo del Tweedalero, Licentiate in medicine, withdrew the beagles of Catalonia from the Chambers of Consultation; and the business of the day was ended.—Sancho, having dispatched all these weighty concerns in the space of one morning, thought the evening his own—and dedicated it accordingly to festivity and pleasure.——He flew to the Fandango of Rafarmo; where the wonted jocularity of Francisco del Bumperoso defended him from the *slumber* of Loftonzo, and the bright refinement of the lovely Dorothea

threw

threw a pious ſhade over the unpoliſhed confidence of her aunt, the counteſs.

What the myſteries of the evening, or the reflections of the morning were, it is not within the province of hiſtory to relate.—But certain it is, they all departed, ſatisfied with their repaſt; and either the love, the gratitude, or the artifice of Sancho, in return for ſo great compliances, appointed apartments, even in the vice-royal palace, for the reception of the counteſs and the lovely Monroſo, wherein to adjuſt and reconcile the violence of travel, whenſoever Dorothea ſhould be led forth from the fields, to grace the carouſals of the King of the iſland.

The convention of the ſtates being now a matter decided, Sancho was again to play off the whole artillery of ſeduction.—The virtuous were diſplaced,—The timorous were threatened,——— The public-ſpirited were ridiculed,—The ſimple had promiſes,—The corrupt were bribed,—The credulous were betrayed,—And all were to be undone.———And indeed, the ſubordinate inſtruments employed in this great negociation were ſo curious, that ſome of them at leaſt deſerve commemoration in theſe records.—At that time fortune had ſhipwrecked on her native land, the old lady; Donna Lavinia Del St. Legero; and ſo extravagant were the eſſays of corruption in thoſe days, that policy condeſcended to *retain* even this obſolete inſtrument of ſeduction. However capable in general of thoſe powers of *procuring*, incidental to her ſex and condition, yet that ſhe ſhould be competent

petent to procure ſuffrages in the Cortes, ſeemed a matter, indeed, of improbable conjecture!—But the reſult frequently diſappoints the ſpeculation.

DONNA Lavinia was indeed a very extrordinary perſon to have figured on the ſtage of politicks. She was the child of middling condition, and had received her education amidſt the ferocity of Baratarian-Bœotia. She had been given in marriage by her parents to the Chevalier St. Legero, a Judge; who, from the intermixture of the Spaniards with the Moors, had an opportunity of enriching his nature (tho' by a ſpurious ſtream) with the blood of the great Muli Iſhmael; and the ſanguinary exploits of his judicature were confirmations of his illuſtrious original. Thus it happened, that the *clemency* of the huſband, and the *chaſtity* of the wife, became the ſymbols of proverbial deſcription. Donna Lavinia managed her qualifications with notable dexterity.——In her youth, without beauty ſhe had Lovers—and in her age, without rank or reputation, ſhe enjoyed the ſociety of the Great. A certain *warmth*, and *conſtitutional cordiality*, was the charm of her early days—the moſt *indulgent accomodation* recommended her riper years, and there was one circumſtance which rendered her ſociety for ever eaſy; which was, "That the example of her youth never overawed the moſt licentious into reſerve, and the compliances of her age made her kind to the frailties of her friends."———She had not even the rigours of hypocriſy——but had an heart to pity, and an houſe to receive, the *pining votaries of Love*. She did not poſſeſs any

thing

thing like addreſs, or courtly manners; but there was a certain ſtatelineſs about her, that might have been the growth of antient faſhion, and at ſometimes a familiarity, that was to reſemble the condeſcenſion of high rank and quality. If ſhe was no longer the *object*, ſhe was glad to be the *inſtrument*, of pleaſure.——And on her boſom every friend and every foe might confidentially repoſe the ſecret infirmities of unreſiſting nature. Not that ſhe was poſſeſſed of any ſupernatural fidelity, or felt the glow of friendſhip in her ſympathies ——But ſhe gave her own life and converſation, as hoſtages for her ſecrecy. And moreover, to ſtrengthen this ſecurity, though ſhe had no great regard to moral obligation, ſhe always affected the greateſt reſpect for all manner of decorum; inſomuch, that, to whatever ſhe ſaid or did, ſhe aſſumed a motive of decency. If at any time, it has happened to her to have dwelt too long on the goblet, and protracted the banquet beyond convivial moderation; "ſhe was thereto compelled by me-
" dical counſel; merely to combat, by that ſevere
" regimen, ſome inward malady or bodily diſeaſe!"
——If, peradventure, ſhe has at any time flown with *critical precipitation*, from her moſt private apartments, and left them to the ſole occupation of two friends, whoſe only difference was their ſex, at one of thoſe dangerous moments, in which love grows too powerful for diſcretion, and female imbecility *not unwillingly* confeſſes the athletic ſuperiority of man——if ever ſhe has done ſo, " ſhe
" was either forced away by ſudden occaſions, and
" in-

" indiſpenſible buſineſs———or ſhe entertained ſo " great a diſapprobation of thoſe tenderneſſes, " which malice may call criminal, that ſhe would " not afford them the countenance of her preſence, " but had withdrawn to leave them a ſilent re- " proach."

HOWEVER, certain it is, that Donna Lavinia, in Madrid for many years maintained a palace, not only of *eaſe*, but of order. Her public demeanour was ſeemly, and ſhe always attended public worſhip; to pray for the King and the royal family; for which act of devotion, Ferdinand III. (being a very pious prince———reſembling his royal predeceſſor, Philip I. in his piety———his conjugal fidelity——his principles of government ——his troubles, and his cataſtrophe) gave her a penſion of five hundred crowns on the exchequer of Barataria; which liberality ſhe repaid by the only recompence the chaſtity of Ferdinand afforded her ——by the moſt religious reſignation to the divine will of the Sovereign.

DONNA Lavinia had a brother and a nephew, who were ſenators of Barataria——The father was *age* and *infirmity*———the ſon was *filial obedience*. To the former then, her brother, ſhe applied with all her powers of ſeduction——She had not, it is true, the *perſonal charms* of the daughter of Lot, but ſhe had the ſame powers of intoxication.

THREE days and three nights did the ſparkling goblet, recommended by the participation of Lavinia, viſit the lips of Don Richardo, her brother; and ſo long did he refuſe the ſuit of her ſolicitation.

on. The fourth day came, and found Richardo ſtill within the empire of wine! Lavinia, being regent, then entered into an alliance even with the virtues of Richardo againſt himſelf. She bade him "to ſerve his ſiſter, by doubling her penſion "——She bade him ſerve his poſterity, by placing "the royal ſtandard in the hands of his grandſon "——For theſe things, and greater, were deter- "minable by the conduct of Don Richardo and "his ſon, in the aſſembly of the people."

Richardo yielded—The old ſenator and his ſon were led into captivity—The promiſes were unperformed——and the excellent young man, ſhortly after, paid the forfeit of his life to the ſeductions of a parent.

LETTER

LETTER XXV.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.

SIR, *Oct.* 24, 1771.

I HAPPENED the other day to meet with a Speech which was lately pronounced by the doughty Governor of Barataria; it is, indeed, a moſt extraordinary curioſity, but, as it is writen in *Court Language*, it is unintelligible to the generality of people. As I have, by the dint of ſevere ſtudy, made myſelf tolerable maſter of that crabbed jargon, I thought I could not oblige my countrymen more, than by attempting a tranſlation of this wonderful ſpeech, which I have at length effected. I have, therefore, ſent it to you, that it may be communicated to the publick, thro' the channel of your paper: It is as literal as the different idioms of the two languages would admit; but they ſo widely differ in ſome points, that it is impoſſible to explain the one by the other, except by paraphraſe.

I am, Sir,

Your friend, and

Occcaſional Correſpondent.

N. Y.

A SPEECH, PRONOUNCED BY THE GOVERNOR OF BARATARIA, AT THE OPENING OF THE CORTES; IN THE ORIGINAL COURT LANGUAGE.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

MY experience of your attachment to his Majesty's person, and of your zeal for the publick service, affords me the best grounded hopes, that nothing will be wanting on your part, to co-operate with his Majesty's gracious intentions to promote the welfare, and happiness of this kingdom; and when to this consideration I add the remembrance of your kind regard to the ease and honour of my administration, I feel the more sensible pleasure in the present opportunity which his Majesty has given me of meeting you a fourth time in parliament.

* THE present prospect of public affairs seems to afford you the fullest opportunity for deliberation on such subjects, as immediately relate to your own domestic happiness; I must therefore recommend to your consideration, whatever tends to promote and strengthen the interior police of this kingdom, and such laws as may be salutary and for the benefit of the lower orders of the community, for these have ever been found the most effectual means of binding their affections to their country, and securing their allegiance to one common parent.

Gentlemen

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

As in aſſembling you together in the laſt ſeſſion it was not his Majeſty's purpoſe to aſk ſupplies, but ſolely to comply with the wiſhes of his people, it was not thought proper, to call upon you, at that time, for any further aid. But as in the ordinary courſe it becomes neceſſary to provide for the expences of the enſuing two years, your laſt grants being nearly expired, I have no doubt of your turning your thoughts to that important ſubject, and of your granting ſuch ſupplies as ſhall be found neceſſary for the honourable and firm ſupport of his Majeſty's government, for the ſecurity of this kingdom, and for the maintenance of the Publick credit.

* I have ordered the proper eſtimates and accounts to be laid before you, from which you will find, not only that the revenue has fallen conſiderably ſhort of former years, but that the deductions made there-from for payment of different grants for premiums, bounties, and public works, have been ſo very great, that it has not been nearly ſufficient to defray the charges of his Majeſty's eſtabliſhments and other neceſſary expences of Government, and that a larger arrear has been incurred on that account. If ſuch grants are judged proper to be continued, either for theſe, or other publick uſes, you will obſerve it is impoſſible that the revenue, as it now ſtands, can anſwer thoſe ſervices, and alſo the ſupport of government: I therefore think it incumbent on me to recommend this ſubject to your moſt ſerious conſideration.

* It

* It is with concern that I muſt aſk a ſum of money to diſcharge the arrears already incurred on his Majeſty's eſtabliſhments, but you will find that they have been unavoidable, for that the ſtricteſt œconomy has been uſed, not only in the charges of the late augmentation, upon which a very large ſaving has been made, but in the reduction of the Staff, which is now diminiſhed to the number directed by his Majeſty.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE birth of another Prince is ſuch an addition to his Majeſty's happineſs and our ſecurity, that it muſt afford us the trueſt ſatisfaction,

* It is my indiſpenſable duty to recommend particularly whatever intereſts the proteſtant religion. There can be no proviſion in its favour, which ſhall tend to carry into execution the good effects of that important law, for limiting the duration of Parliament, and are at the ſame time conſiſtent with the principles of humanity, and the natural rights of mankind, which ſhall not have my hearty concurrence.

THE illegal aſſociations, and audacious outrages committed in different parts of the kingdom, particularly in the North, deſerve your moſt ſerious attention; they are as deſtructive to commerce, as diſgraceful to liberty.

THE wiſdom of former Parliaments, and the affection of my predeceſſors in this high ſtation for your intereſts, have uniformly co-operated in ſupport of your charter-ſchools and your linen manufacture:

facture: I am perſuaded our zeal for theſe natural objects will equal theirs.

His Majeſty has the firmeſt reliance on your loyalty and duty, and is perſuaded that your proceedings will be no leſs conſiſtent with your own dignity than with the true intereſt of your country. For my part, I have reſided ſo long amongſt you, that I truſt it will be needleſs for me to make any new declarations to you of my attachment and affection.

P. S. Those paragraphs marked (*) are extremely obſcure; however, by much pains and labour, I extorted the meaning, though, I do not doubt, but there may be ſtill ſome myſtery leſt unravelled in them.

THE GOVERNOUR OF BARATARIA'S SPEECH TRANSLATED INTO PLAIN ENGLISH.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

MY experience of your intire devotion to the Miniſtry, and of your mean regards to your own private intereſts, affords me the beſt grounded hopes, that nothing will be wanting on your part, to co-operate with the ſaid Miniſtry's gracious intentions of completing the poverty and miſery of this kingdom; and when to this conſideration I add the remembrance of the abject compliments you paid to the oppreſſive and diſhonourable practices of my adminiſtration, I feel

the moſt ſenſible pleaſure in the opportunity which the Miniſtry has given me of inſulting the nation a fourth time in parliament.

THE preſent proſpect of the national calamities is thought by your turbulent conſtituents to furniſh you with the ſtrongeſt reaſons for a ſtrict inquiry into thoſe miſdeanours, which have been deſtructive of your internal happineſs; I muſt therefore ſtrictly charge you to conſider of nothing but what may tend to promote the prerogative in this kingdom, which is to be effected by enacting ſuch laws as may be a proper curb upon the lower orders of the community, for theſe have ever been found the moſt effectual means of preventing theſe wretches from engaging in any ſtruggles for liberty, and awing them into an allegiance to one deſpotick Lord.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

As in that mere farce of your laſt mock-ſeſſion, it was not the Miniſtry's purpoſe to aſk ſupplies, but oſtentatiouſly to make a parade of their majority in each houſe, it was not thought politick to call upon you, at that time, for any further aid: but as in the ordinary courſe, it is now become abſolutely neceſſary to provide for the many expenſive jobbs of the enſuing two years, your laſt grants being totally ſquandered away, I have no doubt of your obeying my mandate upon that important ſubject, and of your granting ſuch ſupplies, as ſhall be found neceſſary for the honourable and firm ſupport of the Miniſtry's authority, for the depreſſion of this kingdom, and for the diſcharge of the wages

of

of iniquity to thoſe tools of power, who are the inſtruments employed for its ruin.

I HAVE ordered the proper eſtimates and accounts to be laid before you, from which you will find that not only the revenue has been more countably embezzled than in former years, but that thoſe mortifying deductions made therefrom for the payment of your damned grants for premiums, bounties and public works, have ſo plaguily crampted us, that it has not been nearly ſufficient to defray the charge of the Miniſtry's negotiations, the corruption of members, the payment of penſions, and other neceſſary expences of the Court; and that many large promiſes have been neceſſarily made, in conſequence of this deficiency. If ſuch grants however be thought politick to be continued, either for theſe or other publick uſes, you will obſerve that it is impoſſible that the revenue, as it now ſtands, can anſwer thoſe ſervices, and alſo the ſupport of the Miniſtry's ſchemes. I therefore have received directions, juſt to give you a hint of thoſe matters, as I am confident you will very readily ſee that ſome new fund, ſuch as a land tax, or ſomething of that nature, is abſolutely neceſſary, if it were only to bribe thoſe poor drudges among yourſelves, who do all the dirty work.

I MUST acknowledge that even I myſelf could ſcarcely muſter up effrontery ſufficient to aſk a ſum of money to diſcharge the debts I have incurred in jobbing for the Miniſtry; but my experience of your folly and venality ſoon put ſhame to flight, though, (between ourſelves) I ſtrove to bring up

thoſe heavy charges as well as I could, partly by ſome cunning tricks in regard to the augmentation, and partly by the reduction of the ſtaff, by which I put a conſiderable ſum into my own pocket, and at the ſame time impoſed it upon the world as œconomy.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

DRAW up a congratulatory addreſs to his Majeſty upon the birth of another Prince.

IT is, I know, a thing of courſe, to recommend the ſupport of the proteſtant intereſt; however, I chuſe to ſpeak in its favour, merely becauſe I am thereby enabled to remind you of my very important ſervices in procuring the law for limiting the duration of Parliaments; to tell the truth, as I am quite indifferent about any religion, I can only ſay, that as far as the proteſtant religion may be conſiſtent with the principles of the Earl of Bute, and the natural intereſt of deſpotiſm, it ſhall have my hearty concurrence.

IT will help to forward the deſigns of the Miniſtry, if you make a mighty buſtle about thoſe few tenants in the North, who have preſumed to murmur againſt their landlords. No complaints from ſuch wretches muſt be attended to, however juſtified by the moſt ſhameleſs oppreſſions; on the contrary, every attempt towards publiſhing their grievances, muſt be interpreted riot, and rebellion, as this artful conſtruction may afford a good pretext for a *new augmentation*, which will effectually

put a period to the expiring liberty of this kingdom.

THE folly of former Parliaments, and the indifference of my predeceſſors for the intereſt of this kingdom, have never produced any other recommendation for its ſervice, but the ſupport of the charter-ſchools, and the linen manufacture.—— For my part, I ſhall not pretend to out-do thoſe, who went before me.

THE Miniſtry have very good reaſons to rely moſt firmly on your ready ſubmiſſion to their will and pleaſure, and are perſuaded that all your proceedings will be influenced by a pitiful regard to your own private advantage, without the ſmalleſt conſideration of the true intereſt of your country.—— For my own part, as I have reſided ſo long among you, I am very confident that I am *better known than truſted*, ſo it would be looked upon as a banter, if I ſhould pretend to make any declaration of my love or attachment to this country.

LETTER XXVI.

TO THE GOVERNOUR OF BARATARIA.

MY LORD, *Nov.* 30, 1771.

IT is with great concern I have been obliged to lay before his Majesty, the state of your Excellency's administration in the kingdom of Ireland; which now appears to be entirely different, as to strength and credit, from that, which you gave his Majesty reason to expect, from the course of intelligence you have been pleased to transmit to the Ministry from time to time.

YOUR Excellency, on the conclusion of the last short session of Parliament, left Government supported by a majority in the house of Commons, exceeding the number of forty——and we had no reason to doubt, that this majority would have encreased under any Administration, possessed either of capacity to reconcile the discontented, or even of temper and decorum sufficient to defend itself from the new disgusts, which seem at present to have alienated the most zealous of its supporters. This might naturally have been expected, without exerting the extreme resources of Government. But his Majesty cannot avoid observing the unusual number of offices, which casualty has thrown into your Excellency's disposal——Moreover, that his Royal indulgence has complied with your requisitions for new appointments, in number great beyond

example—

example———in expence alarming, and in utility doubtful at beſt.——That all the conceſſions made to your predeceſſors, for twenty years together, have not equalled, in amount, thoſe, which have been yielded to your Excellency in ſix months.——That you have been gratified with full powers, not only to reward your friends, but puniſh your enemies, by depriving them of the offices they enjoyed for many years under the crown ;——and with all thoſe powers you amuſed his Majeſty with an account, that you had eſtabliſhed yourſelf with power invincible ; that the ariſtocracy was broken, oppoſition at an end, and that you were ready to meet the parliament, with perfect ſecurity to his Majeſty's honour and government. The reſult, however, has been total diſappointment ; and his Majeſty cannot but obſerve with aſtoniſhment, the wonderful miſapplication of ſo great powers, which has conferred nothing but weakneſs and diſgrace on your adminiſtration——For your majority in the houſe of Commons on the firſt day of this ſeſſion, merely in favour of a common matter of form, was diminiſhed, as I have been informed, to about twenty-ſix. That on points, which heretofore uſed to be decided almoſt by unanimity, you have indeed been victorious, but only by a majority of nine, or five.—In *other matters* you have yielded, compromiſed, or capitulated ; but that, in every *great* and *capital* queſtion, you have been *beaten* by a great ſuperiority. But above all, I cannot avoid expreſſing to your Excellency his Majeſty's reſentment, at your having ſo far deceived him, as in the

first place to recommend it to him to sign his letters positively directing new boards of immense expence to be instituted, which you knew, or ought to have known, could not be carried into execution, without first obtaining a law, which lies in the power of parliament; and which law it seems, is contrary to the sense of parliament, and therefore beyond your power to obtain. Thus the royal name has been brought into disgrace, by the counsel which induced his Majesty to direct, that a thing should *positively* be done, which could not *properly* be done without a new law; the obtaining of which law was always doubtful, and now appears impracticable.——— In forming this scheme, you did not consult the King's servants, the officers of the revenue, or the finances of the country; but rashly induced the authority of the King's name to a measure, that the nation disliked; the revenues were unequal, and the laws, as they now stand, could not admit——Though your Excellency were ever so much enamoured with the station, or gratified by the emolument, of high office, you should not, however, have continued to hold it under the manifest hazard of the King's honour, and the dignity of government.———But I must observe the little grounds you had to expect that easy and honourable session of parliament with the hopes of which you flattered the Ministry. By some peculiarity of management in your dealing with the friends of government, you have, I know not how, rendered them cold and unwilling supporters in parliament; whilst you have made your opponents, zealous, active,

active, and united, againſt you. Not one of the King's ſervants, not even your own ſecretary, can be brought to acknowledge you or your meaſures, in parliament ;——and ſcarcely ever ſpeak but in order to vindicate themſelves from any participation in your councils, or confidence. And truſt me, my Lord, if you don't, in ſome degree, conciliate the affections of thoſe who ſerve Government, you will derive but a very imperfect ſupport from a cold, reluctant, or ſilent ſuffrage. After ſquandering away the immenſe bounties, with which you have been furniſhed, on perſons incapable of ſerving you, you ſtand at preſent with the boaſt of a poor, tottering majority ;—doubtful, diſcontented, and unfriendly ;—and when you depart will leave a body of oppoſition behind you, that the kingdom you govern never ſaw equalled, and which, perhaps, no future wiſdom may be able to reconcile ; and above all, you have recorded a publick memorial of your miſrepreſentations to his Majeſty, in the addreſs of the Commons, condemning the new boards, which you thought proper to recommend to his Majeſty's adoption.

LETTER XXVII.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE FREEMAN'S JOURNA

SIR, *Dec.* 4, 1771

HAVING ſeen lord *North's* letter to the Governour of Barataria, I was determined, if poſſible, to ſee the anſwer, and accordingly availing myſelf of inviſibility, took my ſtand at his elbow; upon examining my tablets, I ſend you an exact copy thereof. Quod Teſtor.

BEELZEBUB.

LORD TOWNSHEND'S ANSWER TO LORD NORTH.

MY LORD,

I HAD the honour of your lordſhip's letter, which I eſteem the more, as it came much ſooner than I expected, having in general great reaſon to complain, that the diſpatches, which I have ſent from time to time, during my adminiſtration, and recommended to your lordſhip to be laid before his Majeſty, have met with ſuch unaccountable delays, as have laid me under very ſingular difficulties. I beg leave to obſerve, my lord, that it is utterly impoſſible, even for a perſon

of

Talbho!

of your known penetration and judgment, to form even the moſt diſtant knowledge of the difficulties I have had to encounter with, during my reſidence in this *here* country; otherwiſe, I flatter myſelf, I ſhould not have fallen under the multiplied cenſures of your laſt letter. A ſcheme was adopted in the cabinet, to aboliſh the uſual mode of government here; lord Briſtol was appointed for the purpoſe of putting this in execution: but I preſume, my lord, he found upon enquiry, that the temper of the people was ſo extremely averſe to this meaſure, and himſelf ſo extremely unfit for the undertaking, (having ſome vices ſo very odious, and being deficient in others ſo very neceſſary to render himſelf agreeable to the country) that he was ſoon induced to lay aſide his deſign; and immediately after he had availed himſelf of the emoluments of the lieutenancy, ſo far as to provide the neceſſary apparatus on the occaſion, he catched at the firſt lucrative poſt in the ſtate, and left the execution of the plan to more hardy adventurers.

I FLATTER myſelf, my lord, that a perſon of leſs fortitude than myſelf, would ſoon have yielded to the oppoſition I met with; and the loſs of that ſupport I might naturally have expected from my brother Charles, would have been a very juſtifiable reaſon for my abdication of the government of Ireland. But, my lord, that zeal, which I have ever manifeſted for his Majeſty's ſervice, yielded not to the many obſtacles I could enumerate, and which I have occaſionally repreſented to the Miniſtry. I did not expect, my lord, that I ſhould have been left to

battle

battle with the parliament on their preſent meeting; I repeatedly told you, that I had found it abſolutely neceſſary to make ſo many promiſes to the leading men here, in order to gain them over from their natural connections, that it was impoſſible for me to fulfil them. The gentry here are proud and jealous to an extreme, nor have I been able, in a ſingle inſtance, to gratify more than one perſon with the ſame employment, as is common on your ſide of the water; no man in office will ſuffer another to be quartered upon him for any part of his emoluments; either *all* or *none* is the anſwer: what then, my dear lord, can I do, ſo circumſtanced? I have granted honours till they are become contemptible, and now looked upon as a badge of meanneſs. 'Tis true, indeed, his Majeſty, in conſequence of my repreſentations, has been pleaſed to ſend over his letters, appointing an additional number of commiſſioners; but, my lord, pray conſider; that there are ſome names inſerted *, which have never been thought of, here, but with the utmoſt abhorrence, and witout one ſingle qualification, unleſs it be a qualification to have executed, in compliance with a depraved miniſtry, the moſt unwarrantable meaſures, ſo as effectually to alienate the affections of ſome millions of loyal ſubjects;—or from the fortunate chance of a lottery to have been enabled to purchaſe a ſeat in parliament, without either character or one ſingle reputable connection.

Be

* Sir Francis Bernard, and Thomas Allan, Eſq; were two of the new commiſſioners:

Be aſſured, this was not the time to make ſo dangerous an experiment; much may be legal, that is not convenient.

THE characteriſticks of this country are gaiety, diſſipation, and expence. I have done my utmoſt to encourage them, to render the gentry the more neceſſitous, and of courſe the more dependant; by theſe means, my lord, you muſt candidly allow I have done a great deal. I have diſunited families, hitherto thought impregnable to ſeduction; I have provided for ſeveral of the moſt worthleſs in their occupations, to ſhew that an implicit obedience to Government is the ſingle criterion of merit, that is expected, or will be rewarded. Have I not, my lord, contracted ſuch a debt in enlarging the military eſtabliſhment, increaſing the ſalaries of office, and creating new ones, that the payment, even of the intereſt, will neceſſarily reduce the nation to a ſtate of abſolute poverty, and dependance? And is it not thereby better fitted for an union upon our own terms, or a land-tax at worſt, either of which fully anſwers the purpoſes of my appointment?

YOU ſeem ſurpriſed, my lord, at my not having removed ſuch members from their employments, as have not implicitly ſerved Government. The conſequence of ſuch a ſtep, would have been their going into determined oppoſition, and they were men of no mean abilities and weight, whereas, by their being continued, *as they ſhould behave themſelves*, I have had their ſupport upon ſuch queſtions, as were in any wiſe reaſonable; and beſides, thoſe perſons

perſons to whom I had promiſed their ſeveral places, were in general ſuch mean, feeble, creatures, as could not have afforded me any ſupport; and indeed, would have added to the ridicule, not the ſervice, of the cauſe.

I AM truly thankful to your Lordſhip for having ſent over the Earl of Hilſborough at the opening of the ſeſſion. He ſet off the equity of my adminiſtration, and the gentle uſe I made of the unreſtrained powers that I was inveſted with, to great advantage; and could I have compaſſed the appointment of the additional commiſſioners, I ſhould have gratified his lordſhip with one of them for Montgomery.

I DOUBT not your lordſhip will think it incumbent upon the Miniſtry, to conſider of ſome reſtitution being made to poor Jerry Dyſon, and I beg to recommend him to your protection, as I preſume, that the pretenſions he had to court favour, that gave him a penſion upon this eſtabliſhment of 1000l. a year, will plead in his behalf as we loſt the queſtion in the committee by a ſingle voice: my truſty friends, Swan, and Waller, were not alert enough, and one ſteady member having taken a bumper extraordinary *to the glorious memory*, had fallen aſleep, and was told off on the wrong ſide; theſe little accidents you know, will happen in the courſe of buſineſs.

PRESENT my humble duty to the King; aſſure him that I am to every intent and purpoſe, the moſt devoted of his ſervants; and be aſſured, my dear

lord,

lord, that I am, humbly craving your further countenance and protection,

Unalterably Yours,

TOWNSHEND.

P. S. The joy that I felt on the death of Lucas was but of ſhort duration; the city election, notwithſtanding my beſt endeavours to the contrary, has ended in favour of Clement, by a great majority; by which I have got an opponent, tho' not ſo vociferous, yet to the full as determined as his predeceſſor: and I fear the ſame ſpirit of independence, and oppoſition to the mild and juſt meaſures of my adminiſtration, will diffuſe itſelf univerſally through the kingdom.

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LETTER XXVIII.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.

SIR, *December* 10, 1771.

THE ſituation of Lord Townſhend in Ireland is at preſent diſtinguiſhed from all others, by circumſtances of great ſingularity.—He ſtands defeated, diſgraced, and deſpiſed; without public reſource, or private friendſhip.—— He has conferred on ſeveral perſons, with the moſt capricious wantonneſs, favours to which they had not any title; but he always took care that ſuch unmerited inſults ſhould accompany his benefactions, as releaſed them from all manner of obligation and gratitude. In his negociations for power, if he found a man of national weight or connection, it was his policy to alienate him——If a man of abilities, it was his prudence to ridicule him ——If a man of virtue, it was his nature to deteſt him. Thus, on his firſt ſetting out in government, the three bodies of men, againſt whom he opened his manifeſto, and, declared war, were the men of the greateſt *power*——the men of the greateſt *abilities*, and the men of the greateſt *integrity*, in the nation. From amongſt thoſe of oppoſite qualities and condition, did he ſelect and form his alliances;

liances;—and the result has been suitable to the policy.—For at present his royal master resents his interested perfidy, in hazarding the dignity of government, for the sake of retaining a little longer the emoluments of it. And with respect to those, who have supported him——the imbecility of his government has defeated the rashness of his promises, and the extravagance of his purposes, towards them. His first determination was, to *buy as a merchandise* every vote in parliament, because he thought the venal would be the most implicit, and that what he had purchased was *his own*.—Forgetting however, that the purchase-money was the money of the people, and that the money could not be got, 'till the stewards had been corupted.—This naturally forced him on the expedient of Promises; which not having been tried, had not been discredited.——Thus he opened his Court of Requests, and issued his promissory notes without number; declaring however, that if they were not paid *to a day* they should bear interest, or advance.——For instance, John S——s, Esq; received a promissory note to him or his order, for a seat at the barrack board: but on the day of payment to prevent the note's being protested, it was counter-signed and marked, in currency for the Revenue Board.—And like a prodigal spendthrift, not being able to discharge the several other demands on him, at the time of promised payment, he was obliged to satisfy his creditors, by issuing new securities, of so advanced an amount, as must reduce him to bankruptcy in the end; and leave him only the resources.

of a ſudden flight, or an act of inſolvency. For in the preſent perplexity of his affairs, ſo low is his credit, that he cannot raiſe a ſingle vote upon it, to ſave his empire.——" Depart then, thou raſh " and impotent miniſter——thou haſt united thine " enemies, and thy friends are not to be found— " and when thou art no more amongſt us, thou " ſhalt be remembered only in our reſentments.— " The humanity of a nation ſhall ſcarcely protect " thine aſhes from the winds, and the favours thou " haſt conferred ſhall not inſcribe thy monument."

FABRICIUS.

LETTER XXIX.

TO LORD NORTH.

MY LORD, *Dec.* 14, 1771.

HIS Majeſty is peculiarly happy in the choice of his miniſters. Ever ſince his acceſſion it ſeems to have been a ſettled maxim to revolt the minds of his ſubjects. For ſuch a purpoſe it was generally thought, that he could not pitch upon a more proper perſon than your friend the duke of Grafton. Your virtues were not ſufficiently known.

HIS ſucceſs, in alienating the affections of Engliſhmen from their ſovereign, ſeemed to mark him out as the natural director of our preſent councils.

His

His majeſty is a man of ſagacity, and ſaw farther than his people. Conſcious of your ſuperior merit he bade your ſtar aſcend, and eclipſe that of your predeceſſor. I give him joy. You have anſwered his expectations. Ireland is in a flame; and he may now hug himſelf in the thought, that every part of his dominions groans under the iron rod of oppreſſion. He is a pious prince, and would, no doubt, wiſh to give his ſubjects an opportunity of ſhewing their piety and reſignation to the diſpenſations of providence. Ireland now preſents ſuch a ſcene; and you may with an air of triumph turn to your Royal Maſter, and pointing to this harraſſed land, exclaim "behold, my liege, theſe are the works of my hand."

To minds like yours this tragedy will be a rich feaſt. I think, I ſee you, in imitation of Seneca's Gods, enjoying the diſtreſſes of Ireland, and viewing with pleaſure its great men ſtruggling with the ſtorms of fate. But let me aſk you, my Lord, whether your pleaſure is pure and unmixed? Is not the ſweet a little daſhed with the bitter? How do you reliſh the affront put by the Iriſh parliament upon your *Mercury in bronze*? Upon what fund will you now quarter Jeremiah's miſtreſs? The Civil Liſt can bear no new incumbrance. It is already three-quarters in arrears; and the diſtreſſed beef-eaters, having applied to you in vain, are obliged to ſell their wages at an unreaſonable diſcount.

But why do I talk of the misery of the household to you, who are not touched with that of the king? While his Ministry wallows in riches, he is surrounded with poverty. In vain are half-millions voted, without any account, by your complaisant friends in the lower house. They are only nominal transfers, like those of the East-India Directors, when they would carry a question. The whole shower of gold soon returns into the ocean, out of which it was first exhaled, and leaves the region of royalty dry and barren. But I suppose he means to copy the example of Cyrus, a Prince of pious memory, who thought his riches better lodged in the hands of his friends than in his treasures. The argument is specious. I would only advise him to inquire, whether the friends of Cyrus were Norths, Graftons and Sandwiches. Certainly it is not upon record, that they ever induced him to render the provinces of his empire disaffected by the multiplication of useless placemen. By what argument, my Lord, did you convince your Sovereign, that *twelve* Commissioners were necessary for collecting those revenues, which did not afford sufficient employment to *seven*? Was it by that arithmetick which you introduced into the decision of the Middlesex election? The event may satisfy his majesty, that national characters change, and that the confusion of ideas, once charged upon Ireland, is now more justly predicated of England.

You did not expect, that the Hibernian patriots would have had perseverance and penetration enough

enough to expoſe the fallacious eſtimate laid before the Parliament. The facility with which the Britiſh Senate has paſſed more fallacious accounts, had you put off your guard. This reverſe will certainly render you more cautious for the future, if, after ſuch manifeſt detection, you can ſtand your ground. But why ſhould I ſuſpect your downfal? We are taught by uniform experience, that notorious corruption is the beſt recommendation to the beſt of ——. Had not your fortune been already made by the plunder of the widow and orphan in *the alley*, this act would have made him open with a liberal hand———the purſes of his ſubjects.——It is, when they meditate impeachments, that he thinks of rewards.

† JUNIUS.

* This is not the production of the celebrated Junius,

LETTER

LETTER XXX.

TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

MY LORD, *Dec.* 21, 1771.

THOUGH your Excellency's known temper and magnanimity in battle, may defend you from any imputations of insolence in victory; yet your Lordship will, I flatter myself, excuse the liberty I now take, when you recollect, that it was a custom with the antient rulers of the world to guard the transport of the noblest natures, by joining to the triumph of the *victorious*, a monitor to remind him *that he was but a man.*——— Your Excellency, whose character is formed on the best models of antiquity, for inflexible virtue—for justice, sobriety, moderation, fortitude, veneration for the laws, and love for the people,—will not hear with indignation this humble admonition, which is merely intended to regulate your feelings under the contemplation of recent success.

* YOUR Lordship has triumphed over the enemies of a new Board of Accounts.——I give you joy! and beg leave to congratulate your Lordship on that peculiar good fortune, which has more than once

* See the Appendix, No. 4.

once in your life united your name with conqueſt. For it ſeems, this was not the firſt inſtance of your aſſuming the honour of a victory which was not of your acquiring. In one inſtance, the abilities of a ſuperior, *whom you could not controul*; in another, the private friendſhips of private men, which *the moſt inauſpicious co-operation* could not defeat, ſucceeded alike, not only to defend, but to adorn Lord Townſhend.

If you will but condeſcend, my Lord, in the exultation of your triumph, to conſider how you obtained, and how you ſtand fortified in your encampment after it, I truſt I need not admoniſh your Excellency to humility!

You marched into the field at the head of a multitude of mercenaries, with the alliance of the King's name, and under the conſecrated banners of the Sign-manual. In ſhort you exerted every power of your ſituation, and you obtained a majority of *five only* in the Houſe of Commons, in favour of a ſcheme for beſtowing 500l. per ann. on five of their members. It is not enough to ſay, that thoſe five members voted eſpecially *for themſelves*, and *exactly* decided the day; but I muſt obſerve, that the whole powers of goverenment, under your Excellency's auſpices, would never have brought the queſtion within the reach of thoſe five votes, were it not for the force of their private ſolicitations, and friendſhips.

Nothing then can be ſo clear, as that the weight of national power lay againſt you; and pri-

vate

vate affection, in this inſtance, broke through the bonds of publick obligation. For it muſt ever be recited amongſt the amiable infirmities of my countrymen, that all their ſtern virtues weaken and diſſolve, when oppoſed to the ſympathies of ſocial intercourſe and amicable communication. The man who was ſevere enough to deteſt your adminiſtration, was yet ſoft enough to remember his antient friendſhips.

THUS the recollection of *congenial ſports and prodigality*—the ſympathy of *youthful connexion*——the ſociety of *military ſervice*—the influence of *family adherence*—and the obſtinate importunity of domeſtic craft, played againſt the *partiality of parental tenderneſs*, were all liſted in your ſervice, and became your allies without a ſubſidy.

YOUR Excellency muſt then be too well acquainted with thoſe particulars to ſuppoſe yourſelf any more than an *acceſſary* to this victory.

IT was your fortune to meet the Parliament of a country, that entertained an extraordinary reverence for your maſter; and therefore you were protected, ſo long as compliment was the object of government——but when you came to meaſures, the oppoſition, which ſpoke the voice of the nation, was too ſtrong for you.—What they gave, they gave from generoſity—what they withheld, they withheld with ſuperiority of ſtrength. They oppoſed you, but they ſupported your royal maſter; they overturned your empire, but they ſupported his government. And indeed in every thing they did, they conducted themſelves with extraordinary

delicacy

delicacy———for whilſt they manifeſted by their ſtrength a ſuperiority over the Viceroy, by their liberality to the King did they exhibit unexampled inſtances of loyalty and attachment.

REFLECT, my Lord, on the tranſactions of the Commons!—They granted his Majeſty the ordinary ſupplies--they moreover voted an enormous loan, ſufficient to ſatisfy even royal prodigality——they agreed to that maſs of expence *the augmentation of the army*, ſtill further augmented in expence, tho' diminiſhed in numbers, ſince the original propoſition of it.—They enabled his Majeſty legally to alienate a part of the publick revenues, which his Majeſty had before been adviſed (and adviſed with effect) to alienate, *contrary to law*——Theſe were the meaſures of his Majeſty's government; and in thoſe inſtances the Commons forgot your Excellency, and remembered only the amiable weakneſs of loyal partiality.

LET me now examine your Excellency's own meaſures, and the points of oppoſition to you, that we may be able to judge of the ſtrength of the fortreſs, within which you are intrenched.—

THE firſt inſult of your own perſon and government (which was moſt ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by your friends) was a declaration of the Commons,—— "That the abilities and eſſential intereſts of the "country ſhould be the meaſure of the ſupply."—The next was a reſolution of the Commons in favour of "œconomy and all poſſible retrenchment." This was juſtly ſuppoſed to imply a reflection on

your Excellency's adminiſtration, and therefore was zealouſly, but ineffectually, oppoſed by your friends in Parliament.——The next parliamentary overthrow, of which I ſhall remind your Excellency, was, in the condemnation of the Exciſe-board, after you had raſhly adviſed your Sovereign to order *poſitively*, that a meaſure ſhould be purſued, which was impracticable, without a new law; and which new law, it is evident, you were not ſtrong enough to obtain.

The next of your Excellency's humiliations was Mr. Dyſon's caſe; in which the Commons declared, "They would not provide for a penſion, "which had been granted under your Excellency's "adminiſtration, *in violation of the royal promiſe.*" ——You were, indeed, beaten *but by one*, in the committee; but you had the queſtion revived in the houſe contrary to the law of parliament, and there you cleared the doubts which might reſt on your ſituation, by expoſing yourſelf to a *more deciſive defeat.*

The next article of your diſgrace, was taken from the public accounts. In them, it ſeems a charge had beed handed down of about 9000l for Militia Arms and fortifying the harbour of Cork. As this was an obſolete charge from the year 1746, the opponents to your government thought it ſhould be ſtruck off; but your friends were up in arms at the propoſition. They were unwilling that any thing ſhould return from the gulph of the exchequer; they urged, that your Excellency had, *in your own mind*, already appropriated this ſum to

the

the erecting batteries in the harbour of Cork, upon plans formed and digeſted in your military progreſs through Ireland.

THAT day, the malice of fortune gave you the victory, but to betray you to double diſgrace; for, on the ſucceeding day, the ſtatute book was examined—the tranſactions were expoſed.—Recantation, humility, and diſgrace covered your party ——your plans of fortification, and *ſketches* of military deſign, were become the objects of ridicule, and bluſhes were ſeen to glow on the cheeks which never bluſhed before.

As to the recent victory, which at preſent encircles your brows with laurel, I have already troubled your Excellency with ſome obſervation upon it—— you engaged five gentlemen to vote for themſelves, and to ſolicit the aſſiſtances of friendſhip; the powers of which are not yet ſo weak in this country, as that your Excellency's co-operation was able to defeat them.

MODERATE your triumph then, illuſtrious commander!—You have been defeated in three out of four of your capital engagements——Your ſingle trophy was not the fruit of your own ſtrength, or conduct. The power of private friendſhip,——the intereſt of individuals——and the aſtoniſhing deſertion of two men, who ought to be found amongſt your ſterneſt enemies, atchieved *this firſt* and *laſt* of your victories.

LETTER XXXI.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.

SIR, *Dec.* 23, 1771.

IF you can find room for the incloſed inſcription, you will much oblige your conſtant reader,

LAPIDARIUS.

AN INSCRIPTION ON A PILLAR WHICH IS SPEEDILY TO BE ERECTED AT THE TOWN OF BULLOCK.

This column was erected at the private expence
Of good Men,
To ſtand a monument of Iriſh Story, and
A Memorial to Poſterity
Of our happy deliverance from the ſcourge
Of inſolence and oppreſſion,
By the unexpected, but not unwiſhed for departure
Of George Lord Viſcount Townſhend;
Who reſided in this land, as Chief Governour,
For the ſpace of Four Years: But at length
Departed on the 26th day of December, in the Year
1771.
Having on that day, being St. Stephen's day,
The 15th day after his obtaining a victory,
(Which the *Wiſe* call'd a defeat,)
And the 2d day after he paſs'd the Money-Bills,
(Which

(Which *He* thought an Exploit)
Embarked, *without oſtentation*,
At this little Port of Bullock.
He came to Ireland profeſſing and practiſing
Every myſtery of corruption—
Waging war againſt
Power, *Abilities*, and *Integrity*;
And accordingly his adminiſtration was
Abſurdity, *Impotence*, and *Profligacy*.
During his reſidence, the *powers* of his office
Frequently compell'd him to confer favours,
But a capricious nature and barbarous manners,
Defended him from the returns of
Friendſhip and Gratitude:
He therefore never made
A Friend.
So that in a country, in which any misfortune
Calls forth the affections of the people—
Where they drop tears at the execution of
Every Malefactor,
He however was
Unaſſiſted in his difficulties,
Unpitied in his diſgrace,
And unlamented in his departure.
He utter'd falſhood from the throne
In the name of the King.
From his cloſet did he promiſe
The things which never were performed—
His conduct in government was
A diſgrace to him, whom he repreſented,
A reproach to thoſe, who appointed Him,
And a ſcourge to thoſe, whom he governed.—

He

He was a Mimick,
A Scribbler,
A Decypherer of features,
A Delineator of corporeal infirmity;
But he was not
A Statesman,
A Governor,
A Soldier,
A Friend,
Or a Gentleman:
He was victorious only when he involved
His cause with the cause of
private persons—
And the ordinary effects of
Sympathy and Affection,
(Usually so strong in his country)
Became weak or doubtful,
As they were damp'd by the influence
Of his co-operation.
His wisdom was fraud;
His policy, corruption;
His fortitude, contempt of character;
His friendship, distrust;
His enmity, revenge;
And his exploit, the ruin of a country.

LETTER XXXII.

* TO THE WRITERS OF THE LAST BATCHELOR.

Jan. 2, 1772.

A CITIZEN of the world, I am a friend to mankind. A citizen of Geneva, I am a friend to a weak nation, expoſed to the encroachments of a ſuperior kingdom. I knew the Engliſh in their hiſtory; and I admired them. I ſought refuge amongſt the ſons of freedom, as I thought them: but, alas, I found that, however they might have been entitled to that godlike diſtinction, they had loſt it by degeneracy. The miſrepreſentations of Hume contributed to the captivating error. But I ſoon found that he had been himſelf a miſſionary of corruption, and that he applauded the political ethicks of a nation, which he had inſpired: "Deluded, or deluding "man, and infatuated people, ſaid I to myſelf, "farewell. The heart of Rouſſeau, an alien to "fraud; and the tongue, an advocate for truth, "cannot diſemble. I cannot live, where I could "not brook to die. Some land of liberty ſhall "ſhield my bones; nor ſhall my aſhes mingle but "with the duſt of freemen."

My fruitleſs, but unwearied ſearch hath almoſt exhauſted Europe; and I now ſtand in this, I hope, not devoted iſland, heſitating upon the margin of

* See Batchelor of December 28, 1771.

the deep: but prepared, if I ſhall be here diſappointed, to traverſe (in the reſolution, not the deſpair of age) the extent of the Atlantick.

A *Denizen* of your country, I owe returns of ſervice for the bounty of protection; and univerſally naturalized to liberty by the congenial breathings of my ſoul, the wound which I received from ſeeing, in your laſt publication, my publick words and my unhappy name perverted to the injury of this country and of freedom, has ſo far touched a heart not inſenſible, as to drag me from my intended obſcurity, and to make me in ſome ſort an actor on a ſtage, where I wiſhed to be only a ſpectator. You have made me an advocate for uncertainty in the rights of the ſubject, though they are only *rights* as far as they are defined. You have made me a patron of ambiguity in things the moſt eſſential to the welfare of humanity, though I have aimed at preciſion in matters leſs important. But know, audacious or ignorant writers, that the delicacy and intercourſe of ſentiment between the people and their governors, which I recommend, have another object. Know alſo, that men flew from the ſimplicity of a ſtate of nature, for no other reaſon, but that all great, private and publick rights might be invariably aſcertained; and that the civil government, which doth not fix and ſpecify them, is the moſt fatal conſpiracy againſt the happineſs of man.

You ſay that this country is no longer free than whilſt it enjoys the ineſtimable privilege of being taxed by its own repreſentatives *only*, *(and according to the eſtabliſhed forms of the Conſtitution* you ought

ought to have added.) You ſay, on the other hand, that England will not ſuffer her manufactures to be taxed, nor her commerce to be reſtrained, by an Iriſh Houſe of Commons. The latter propoſition, thus univerſally predicated, is abſurd and falſe. But ſuppoſe it to be true, what follows? Not that it is neceſſary, that the Crown ſhould have a power to *alter* your Money-bill. The Crown, by the eſtabliſhed forms of the conſtitution, hath a *negative*, by which it can prevent any law from paſſing; and that negative is a ſufficient ſecurity for Engliſh commerce and manufacture. The commerce and manufacture of England is thus ſecure, not only in the original forms of the conſtitution, but in the ſuperiority of Great Britain alſo. But what ſupport or exiſtence has the ineſtimable privilege of the Commons, if a rival and deſtructive power be eſtabliſhed in the Crown of Great Britain? Or is it the language of Iriſhmen, that the leſs eſſential rights of another nation, which already have all human ſecurity, ſhould be further fortified, at the expence of the moſt eſſential rights of their own country? This cannot be. What follows? That this great privilege of the Commons ſhonld be preſerved according to the eſtabliſhed law of the conſtitution, inviolate. What then is that privilege? Not, that the Commons ſhould have *barely* a *negative* to a Money-bill, like the King; but that they *alone*, ſhould *propound* and *model* bills of ſupply; and that a power of *diſſenting*, *only*, ſhould remain with the Nobles, and with the Crown. Whereas if you give the Sovereign a power to *alter*, you

give him a power to *propound* and model; and leave to the Commons, as a ſecurity over their *own grants*, a *negative only*: that is, you reverſe every principle of the conſtitution, and confound every maxim of common ſenſe and equity.

HEREAFTER, perhaps, I may enter morge largely upon this ſubject, for I feel myſelf kindling in the cauſe. Now let me ſpeak to the *authors* of that publication; for it ſeems it is a divided labour. Both of you, we are told, are military men. There is a frankneſs, and a liberality, at leaſt, in that profeſſion, to which clandeſtine calumny is not adapted. Far from violating in peace, what you are paid to protect in war; you ought to remember, not only the monarch, in whoſe name you are enrolled; but the people, by whoſe bounty you are fed. Or, if the ſplendid vaſſals of the ſword, are too often content to be thought enemies to freedom, be not you more than profeſſionally her foes; let her not meet you in the *cloſet*, as well as in the *field*; and at leaſt, let her be free from the *pen* of ſtipendiary centurions. The ſtudies and the exerciſes of war, the dance, the theatre, are open: let the laſt of your frolicks be, to ſport with the rights of your country, or with the fame of her defenders. I ſpeak to you for a moment, as if you were not *purchaſed* to the taſk; for if you be, you are the laſt of wretches.

IF any difference is to be made between theſe political *Soſii*; if there be one of them more allied to *Hermes*, let him remember, that though he may be employed like his predeceſſor, to compaſs for another

ther the end of proſtitution ; yet, the ſeducer, in this caſe, is not a *Jove*, and that he himſelf is one of the offspring of *Alcmena*. Let him not wound private and public faith, nor immolate friendſhip at the ſhrine of a man, whoſe abſurdity and caprice, whoſe meanneſs and inſolence, whoſe ingratitude and baſeneſs, are amongſt his favourite themes : and if he hath a ray of that genius, which by an intemperate ſenſibility, hurries the mind, ſometimes, even to the precipice of diſtraction, let him not excruciate the unfortunate and aged Rouſſeau, by a diſtortion of his ſentiments, which will make him appear an enemy of that country, in which he hopes for an aſylum, and of that truth and liberty, to the promotion of which, his life and labours have been devoted.

JEAN JAQUES ROUSSEAU.

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LETTER XXXIII.

TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

My Lord, *Jan.* 7, 1772.

PERMIT me once more to addreſs myſelf to your Excellency,——not in the language of accuſation and reproach, but in the ſofter accents of pity and condolence. For indeed. I cannot but lament with your Excellency, that your adminiſtration ſhould have been ſo ſignally diſtinguiſhed from all others, by furniſhing ſo many unuſual inſtances of violence againſt the liberty of this country. 'Tis true, my lord, ſome of them were ſuggeſted by perſons, ſuperior in authority to your Excellency; but in the end, you condeſcended to make them your own, by your countenance and adoption; and therefore, ſome imagine, that the ample experience, with which you had furniſhed the Engliſh Miniſtry, of your *indiſcriminate acquieſcence*, of your *temperate interpretation of perſonal inſults*, and *reſignation under diſgrace*, could alone have induced them to *mark* your lordſhip's adminiſtration, by an experiment of the groſſeſt indignity to the government and conſtitution of this country;—an eſſay againſt the laſt ſtake of Iriſh liberty. When the miniſtry returned to this country an *altered* Money-bill, one would have imagined their great object was the ſubverſion of your adminiſtration. They could not ſurely have thought ſo meanly of you, as to ſuppoſe you incapable of

diſtinguiſhing

diſtinguiſhing, or indifferent in deciding, between that which is baſe, and that which is noble!——— Nor could they, I truſt, think you ſo enamoured of high ſtation, as that you would retain it, under the diſgrace of tyrannical mandates on one ſide, and the diſſatisfaction of a nation on the other. But whatever may have been their motives, it had been happy for your Excellency, if you had diſcerned with a little ſagacity, and acted with a little reſolution, on this great national queſtion;——if you had involved even your private reſentments with the publick cauſe, and proved your own innocence, by not only diſclaiming, but reſiſting, this injury,——But your Excellency was otherwiſe adviſed.——Your ſecretary ſaw *no evil* in the alterations.——Your Solicitor-general, and Counſellor to the commiſſioners of Revenue, thought them *benefaction and grace.*

OTHERS of your friends (as you may think them) equally inſenſible of this enormity, but preferring the moſt doubtful reputation to decided infamy, adopted the old expedient of procraſtination;—what they were too weak to defend, they hoped they were ſtrong enough to delay; and like prudent generals, before they would hazard a deciſive engagement, they choſe to take a review of their forces, by a diviſion on a motion, "to adjourn the "debate for two days." The propriety of this propoſition they gravely argued; though they knew in their conſciences, that no delay could adminiſter information; that no enquiry could ſuggeſt knowledge on this ſubject.—For indeed the deliberation

liberation of ages could not diminiſh the evil.—The official artifice of the moſt perverted ingenuity, could not *unalter* the money-bill, which lay before them. The caſe was ſimple——accommodated to the deciſion of a moment. The queſtion was only, whether the Commons ſhould paſs an altered money-bill or not?——They were as well able to judge on Saturday, as they could be on Monday, or on any other day of their lives, whether it was expedient to ſurrender the laſt ſtake of their liberty, or not?—Truſt me, my lord, the vigilance of the world readily diſcovers that deluſion, which would hide, under the maſk of moderation, ſo great a perfidy.—They well knew, that delay could not alter the merits of the cauſe; but they had ſome private reaſons to ſuſpect, that it might alter the diſpoſition of the judges, before whom it was to be tried. But they were diſappointed!——and everlaſting honour will crown their opponents, who in the day of trial took a great and decided part, and gained for their country this ſignal victory. A victory not of party over party, or faction againſt power!—It was the reſiſtance of magnanimity to oppreſſion.—It was the triumph of public virtue over private intereſt.

At this particular ſeaſon, ſecurity had ſent the great body of the oppoſition into the country, and your Excellency was left omnipotent in Parliament, for every purpoſe, ſave only that which tended to the abſolute ruin of the country. This gives invincible authority to your defeat; and muſt, at the ſame time, render you ſome conſolation, as it conveys a proof, that no Adminiſtration could have ſucceeded

ceeded in this abominable buſineſs, until it had firſt totally debaſed, degraded, and corrupted, the repreſentative body of the nation. And that is a work, which it appears your Excellency's induſtry in four years has not been able to accompliſh.

And now, my Lord, ſeeing that your education in camps has left you in need of information upon ſubjects of liberty ;——that you are ſurrounded by men, on one ſide, deſtitute of capacity to inform, on the other, of integrity to inform faithfully ; I ſhall beg leave to ſtate to your Excellency (that you may not be totally ignorant of the moſt ſtriking feature of your adminiſtration) the great queſtion of this altered money-bill. And then, I ſhall aſk you, if you think your friends were honeſt, thoſe friends, who told you that it was a matter fitted for delay, moderation, or management, to loiter over ?

It is laid down, as the law of the land, by Judge Blackſtone (no very great favourer of the democratical part of our conſtitution, whom even Counſellor Power has accuſed of wanting zeal for liberty) "That it is the antient indiſputable privilege and "right of the Houſe of Commons, that all grants "of ſubſidies or parliamentary aids do begin in their "houſe, and are firſt beſtowed by them." And this great Lawyer (with deference to the revenue-counſellor do I call him ſo) further obſerves, "that "ſo reaſonably jealous are the Commons of this va-"luable privilege, that herein they will not ſuffer "the other houſe to exert any power, but that of "rejecting. They will not permit the leaſt *altera-*"*tion* or *amendment* to be made by the Lords to the

"mode

" mode of taxing the people by a money-bill." And he adds, " That it would be extremely dangerous " to give them any power of framing taxes for the " ſubject. It is ſufficient, that they have a power " of rejecting, if they think the Commons too laviſh " or improvident in their grants."

Now, if the *Lords*, who vote for themſelves and their own concerns, who pay their proportion of all taxes, which are impoſed on the nation, are not permitted, in any ſort, to meddle with this great right of the Commons, how monſtrous would it be to ſuppoſe, that the *Crown* could exerciſe any ſuch power, whoſe province it is, only to accept, not contribute to, thoſe national bounties."

THIS is the common law of the land; and the conſtant principle and practice of Parliament.—And ſo tenacious of this valuable right have the Commons of Ireland ever been, that in the year 1753, upon a moderate provocation, in compariſon with the preſent, they amply teſtified their ſentiments on this great queſtion.

THERE happened at that time to be a redundancy in the treaſury—the Houſe of Commons paſſed heads of a bill applying this redundancy to the payment of the national debt. The Engliſh Miniſtry were of opinion that, as this money had been by former acts of parliament veſted in the Crown, under a general truſt, it would be a breach of delicacy at leaſt, to apply it to any particular purpoſe, without ſpecifying his Majeſty's previous conſent thereto; and therefore, when the bill returned, the words, "*with his Majeſty's previous conſent*" appear-

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ed to have been inſerted in the preamble. The moment it was diſcovered, the Houſe of Commons was in a flame—and tho' this was not a bill laying a ſingle tax on the people—tho' it might be conſidered rather as a bill of *diſpoſition* than *taxation*—yet, as it appertained unto money, it was thought too much a money-bill, to admit of any the leaſt alteration; and therefore it was rejected.

And now, my Lord, let us examine the alterations which defeated the money-bill of this ſeſſion. We tranſmitted into Great Britain a money-bill of ſuch extenſive liberality, as gave us reaſon to expect royal acknowledgment, not miniſterial inſult, in return. But we were diſappointed!—The Committee of compariſon between our copy and the tranſmiſs, reported to the houſe three poſitive and ſubſtantial alterations in the very matter of the ſupply. It appeared, that the antient duty, which we had impoſed on cottons, both from motives of commerce and ſubſidy, was ſtruck out of the bill. ——Your Lordſhip has been told, "this was a "clerical error!—It was inſerted in the other co-"py!"—It is unneceſſary to expoſe the ſuſpicious circumſtances which attended this particular—they were many—however, I ſhall admit the defence ſo far. But what, my Lord, do you ſay to the *expreſs words inſerted*, which poſitively exempt Britiſh herrings from a tax impoſed by the Commons? Is this a ſolid alteration of our money-bill or not? Is the inſertion of a number of words, of ſo marked an import, a literal inaccuracy, or a clerical error? impoſſible!

And

And now, my Lord, let us examine the next alteration!——The Houſe of Commons impoſed a duty on certain foreign diapers of a particular denomination. This tax the legiſlative authority of the Engliſh Miniſtry thought proper utterly to defeat, by a poſitive clauſe which was inſerted, exempting from the duty, all ſuch as ſhould be imported from Great Britain—which was, in effect, *all* that ſhould be imported. Which of the ſervants of the Crown informed your Excellency, that this was accident or error? Whoever he was, I envy him not his ſtation or emoluments——he has dearly purchaſed them!—Truſt not men who ſhew themſelves ready to go all lengths with you! They are not men of principle—therefore you can't rely on them.

What then did thoſe gentlemen mean, who boaſted of having diſcovered a *correct* copy of this bill? They pleaded ſomewhat like the priſoner, who being arraigned for three murders, demanded a general acquittal for having proved, that one of them was manſlaughter without malice prepenſe—They thought to diſarm the nobleſt ſpirit of national reſentment, that ever exalted a patriot aſſembly, by endeavouring to prove, that this bill only contained one *accidental* and two *intentional* violations of the conſtitution—and therefore, out of tenderneſs to one unlucky accident, we were to pardon two malignant tranſgreſſions,—No, my Lord! If our eſſential rights are to be deſtroyed, what matters it, whether they fall by one, or two, or three wounds?—The admiſſion of an altered money-bill, in any poſſible inſtance, is a crime, for the perpetration

tration of which the Commons of Ireland are not yet ſufficiently debaſed. They know, that their very exiſtence depends on preſerving purity in this particular. If any power had a right to *alter*, in any degree, what authority could draw a line of limitation? And the abſurdity is obvious, as well as criminal, which amuſes us by diſtinctions, between alterations *tending to encreaſe*, and thoſe which *affect to diminiſh* the ſupply. The repreſentatives of the people form a great ſcale of taxation, ſo proportioned, as that the ſeveral impoſts may ſuſtain each other ——They know, that in many inſtances, to diminiſh the rate, is to encreaſe the revenue, as in the caſes of tea and tobacco; and that on the other hand, in order to ſupport internal taxation, they muſt lay commercial impoſitions on the articles of importation. In ſhort, the whole ſcheme of ſupply muſt be one work——and it muſt be the work of the Commons entire.

SUFFER not yourſelf therefore, my lord, to be perſuaded, that any circumſtance in the *tendency* can be a mitigation in the *matter* of altering a money-bill. For if the idea be once admitted, it will be ſoon eſtabliſhed.——If the Crown can once become poſſeſſed of a right of alteration, that will imperceptibly become a right of propoſition.—— Then indeed would the whole order of the legiſlature be overturned—the repreſentative of the people would be reduced to a ſimple negative over their own liberalities; and the conſtitutional liberty of this country would be at an end. We might then reflect with an idle veneration, upon the wiſ-

dom

dom of our anceſtors, who had guarded the houſe of commons againſt the poſſibility of admitting a new tax by ſurpriſe.——For the law of parliament requires, that it ſhould be propoſed and diſcuſſed five different times, before they can adopt or tranſmit it to Great Britain.——That, I ſay, would be a fruitleſs precaution, if a ſilent inſertion of new matter into the money-bill, or an alteration of the old, were in any poſſible inſtance, to be a meaſure admiſſible.

TRUST me, my lord, the Crown is not poſſeſſed of power enough in this country, to enforce ſo ruinous a tenet ;—and if ever it ſhall become ſo powerful, it's power will be abſolute.

AFTER this review of the laws and conſtitution, I believe no man will be found, who does not admire the whole conduct of the Houſe of Commons on the late memorable tranſaction.—It was all wiſdom, ſpirit, and moderation!

THE Committee of compariſon reported that the money-bill had been altered.—The Commons therefore rejected the bill. On the ſame day they prepared and paſſed heads of a bill, under a different title, but as nearly as poſſible of the ſame import with that which they had rejected ;—and this they did, that they might furniſh the world with a deciſive teſtimony, that they had rejected a money-bill, not on account of any particular objections to the *import* of the alterations it had ſuffered ; but merely becauſe it was an altered money-bill. The Engliſh Miniſtry, being ſufficiently informed of the invincible reſolution of the Iriſh

Houſe

House of Commons, thought proper to return the new bill to them without any further experiment. —The Committee of comparison reported, "that "the bill was unaltered," and it passed the house with unusual celerity.

THUS the House of Commons have formed a perfect and conclusive authority, on this greatest of national questions, and vindicated themselves from any doubts, which the days of prerogative may have suggested against them—they have covered themselves with honour, and shall leave behind them an example, which will be, at once, the admiration and the controul of their posterity. They have wiped away the impressions of a vulgar timidity, which has never united the ideas of destruction, with the rejection of a money-bill.——They have taught Administration, "that the emolu- "ments of the Crown cannot purchase every "thing; and though Government may sometimes "be gratified, in unreasonabls requests, it will not "be complied with in unlawful commands."

THE majority, who decided this great question have done that, which shall be remembered to them, by their country, when they shall apply for re-election——They have done that, which they themselves shall reflect on with satisfaction, in the moment of their lives.

FABRICIUS.

LETTER XXXIV.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.

SIR, *Jan.* 21, 1772.

I SEND you encloſed a ballad on a recent tranſaction, which I hope will afford your readers as much entertainment as it did

Your humble ſervant,
CANTILENA.

A BALLAD,

ON THE REJECTION OF THE (1) ALTERED MONEY-BILL.

With explanatory notes, by different authors.

I.

I'LL tell you a ſtory—'tis not of (2) three Crows;
(2) Nor

(1) In abſolute governments, where the people have only a permitted property, the will of the Monarch is the ſource and the limit of taxation—In free governments, like thoſe of Great Britain and Ireland, the reverſe obtains—and therefore we ſee that in theſe, the will of the people, expreſſed by their repreſentatives, is the origin and the meaſure of all ſupplies—and that the Crown hath only a power to accept or refuſe, not to propound or alter.

Monteſquieu.

(2) Two new ſtories invented by Sir George Macartney—the one to prove, that there would be no proteſt or prorogation.——

(2) Nor the Dog that the letter refus'd to diſcloſe;
But a ſtrife 'mongſt the Commons that lately aroſe,
Which nobody can deny.

II.

They granted their Sovereign a gallant ſupply,
But (3) Thurloe reſolved (that prerogative ſpy)
That a power to alter their bill he would try—
Which nobody can deny.

III.

Then left that the Commons might take it to heart,
A letter

tion——the other to ſhew, there was no ſcheme of dividing the revenue board. People thought he knew theſe matters better than any one, he being a man of great parts, and having continual acceſs to his own office. But next day it appeared, that he had deceived them through forgetfulneſs, he having a *treacherous* memory.

Sterling.

(3) Attorney General of England, and practitioner at the bar of Nandoe's coffee-houſe——he and his connexions are notorious friends of liberty in every part of the Btitiſh dominions.

Boſton Gazette.

A letter was written by Rochford with art—
To tell them, the " change did not matter a f—t :*
Which nobody could deny.

IV.

" 'Twas true, that pragmatical fellow (4) Will Pitt
" *Unaltered* their money-bills uſed to tranſmit,
" But that *now* the *King's friends* did what they
" thought fit ;
Which nobody could deny.

V. But

(*) An expreſſion, whereby the people of Ireland ſignify their reſpect for Lord Townſhend's adminiſtration.

(4) The celebtated Dr. R————n, who will ſhortly gratify the world with a hiſtory of America, has favoured the editor with the ſight of that work in manuſcript. In ſpeaking of the conqueſt of Canada, and the adminiſtration of Mr. Pitt, he has the following paſſage, which he has very kindly permitted us to publiſh: " The Secretary ſtood alone.—— Modern degeneracy had not reached him. Original, and unaccommodating, the features of his character had the hardihood of antiquity. His auguſt mind over-awed Majeſty, and one of his Sovereigns thought royalty ſo impaired in his preſence, that he conſpired to remove him, in order to be relieved from his ſuperiority. No ſtate chicanery, no narrow ſyſtem of vicious politicks, no idle conteſt for miniſterial victories, ſunk him to the vulgar level of the Great; but overbearing, perſuaſive, and impracticable, his object was England, his ambition was fame. Without dividing, he deſtroyed party;—

without

V.

But when to the members this letter was read,
Old Clement ſuſpected—the wiſe ſhook their head;

M A

without dividing, he deſtroyed party;—without corrupting, he made a venal age unanimous.———France ſunk beneath him. With one hand he ſmote the Houſe of Bourbon, and wielded in the other the democracy of England—The ſight of his mind was infinite; and his ſchemes were to affect, not England, not the preſent age, only, but Europe and poſterity.—Wonderful were the means by which theſe ſchemes were accompliſhed; always ſeaſonable, always adequate, the ſuggeſtions of an underſtanding, animated by ardour, and enlightened by prophecy.

The ordinary feelings which make life amiable and indolent—thoſe ſenſations which ſoften and allure and vulgarize—were unknown to him. No domeſtic difficulties, no domeſtic comforts reached him; but aloof from the ſordid occurrences of life, and unſullied by its intercourſe, he came occaſionally into our ſyſtem—to counſel—and to decide.

A character ſo exalted, ſo ſtrenuous; ſo various, ſo authoritative, aſtoniſhed a corrupt age, and the Treaſury trembled at the name of Pitt, through all her claſſes of venality—Corruption imagined, indeed, that ſhe had found defects in this ſtateſman, and talked much of the inconſiſtency of his glory, and much of the ruin of his victories———But the hiſtory of his country, and the calamities of the enemy, anſwered and refuſed her.

Nor were his political abilities his only talents. His eloquence was an æra in the ſenate; peculiar, and ſpontaneous, *familarly* expreſſing gigantic ſentiments and inſtinctive wiſdom. Not like the torrent of Demoſthenes, or the ſplendid confiagration of Tully, it reſembled ſometimes the thunder, and ſometimes the muſick, of the ſpheres. Like Murray, he did not conduct the underſtanding through the painful ſubtilty of argumentation; nor was he, like Townſhend, for ever on the

rack

A committee they'd have to compare it, they ſaid,
Which nobody can deny.

VI.

And when they examined and found how 'twas alter'd,
That Rochford had lied, and that (4) Townſhend had palter'd,

(5) Burgh

rack of exertion: but rather lightened upon the ſubject, and reached the point by the flaſhings of his mind, which, like thoſe of his eye, were felt, but could not be followed.

Upon the whole, there was in this man ſomething that could create, ſubvert, or reform; an underſtanding, a ſpirit, and an eloquence, to ſummon mankind to ſociety, or to break the bonds of ſlavery aſunder, and to rule the wildneſs of free minds with unbounded authority; ſomething that could eſtabliſh or overwhelm empire, and ſtrike a blow in the world that ſhould reſound through it's hiſtory."

(4) He is a very civil Nobleman, and wrote me a letter of congratulation on my being elected an Alderman of the city of Dublin. He is owu brother to the celebrated Charles Townſhend, deceaſed, and was appointed to the Lieutenancy of Ireland, in the life-time of his ſaid brother. He is confeſſed to have done good to this country *one* way or *another*, and is much to be commended for complying with the prejudices of the people, in giving the royal aſſent, which *he could not help*, to the Octennial Bill, though he always declared it would be the ruin of the country; of which there can be no doubt, as it muſt in the end cauſe a new bridge to be built over the Liffey.——His greateſt exploit, as a ſoldier, was his taking Quebec, ſword in hand, in perſon, and then writing letters to England, aſcribing all the glory of the day to General Wolfe, who was dead, and who had no more to ſay to it than Todd. He alſo accepted kindly of the money grants of

the

(5) Burgh ſwore in a rage, 'They ought both to be 'halter'd,'

Which nobody can deny.

M 2 VII. (6) Flood

the Parliament of Ireland, on the 27th of December, 1769, giving the royal aſſent to the ſame. He then read diſtinctly a *civil* proteſt againſt the Commons, calling them law-breakers inſtead of law-makers, to the manifeſt ſatisfaction of Judge Robinſon, who ſmiled all the time; and then he prorogued the Parliament with *great good humour*; having waited to the laſt minute for the coming in of the packet, to ſee whether he might not have leave to *diſſolve* them. His friends adviſed him to return to England immediately after the late ſhort ſeſſion, but he prudently declined their counſels, foreſeeing that he ſhould return with more advantage after the *ſucceſſes* of this winter; and accordingly he hath this ſeſſion carried the new Commiſſioners of Exciſe, and Mr. Dyſon's penſion, by a large majority; as alſo, the altered money-bill; to the great ſatisfaction of the Engliſh Miniſtry, and to the mortification of our fooliſh patriots; many of whom are my cuſtomers, for whom I have the greateſt reſpect, veneration, and liking.

G. Faulkner.

(5) A gentleman, whoſe principles of government differ from thoſe of John Monk Maſon, Eſq.

Com. Journals.

(6) We have done juſtice to this gentleman in the *Batchelor*, notwithſtanding he oppoſes Adminiſtration virulently. He thinks a great deal of himſelf, and imitates Doctor Charles Lucas. He writes *all* the papers in the Freeman and the Hibernian Journals, in verſe and in proſe. He applied to Lord Townſhend for the collection of Kilkenny in the room of his friend Mr. Langriſhe, and alſo to be tried for his life; and was refuſed both. He has talked a great deal of ſtuff this winter in the Parliament Houſe, and would have talked a great deal more but for fear of Sir George Macartney and Counſellor Power.

The authors of notes on the epiſtle to G. E. Howard.

VII.

Flood, (7) Langriſhe, (8) Buſhe, (9) Huſſey,
were all in a flame;
(10) Perry, (11) Brownlow, (12) O'Brien, each patriot name,
Said the bill ne'er ſhould paſs, but go back as it came,
Which nobody can deny.

VIII. The

(7) This gentleman is a great joker—but I believe the joke will be againſt him, when I am Collector of Kilkenny. I did not, however, like to ſee him vote for Government the firſt day of this ſeſſion. But the next Sunday I went to levee, with my friend Jemmy Agar, who made the bargain, and Lord Townſhend gave me a wink, and laughed, as much to ſay, "Joe you are snug." I hear he has ſince done for himſelf on the money-bill, and expoſed himſelf ſo much by what he ſaid, that his crony Harry Flood cried to ſee him make ſuch a fool of himſelf.

Joe Mathews.

(8) This young gentleman is a relation of Dean Marley, who is a friend to Captain Jephſon—and therefore probably concerned in ſome publications againſt my character. He perfidiouſly and ungratefully oppoſed Government four days after he got an employment, which gave me a good opportunity to laſh him in my poetical dialogue on *the Times*; when I called him Judas Iſcariot, and a gooſe.

Burroughs.

(9) This gentleman's being in Parliament muſt hurt him in his profeſſion, as every body now ſees, that he has neither talents, nor liberality of ſentiment. He does not *ſtick* to the queſtion as I do, but is fond of being perſonal, without ingenuity. I thought him tolerable however upon Scott——and that is the only thing upon which I remember Sir George and me ever to have differed.

R. Power.

VIII.

The courtiers began at each other to ſtare;
(13) Will Gamble was abſent; (14) Jack Maſon not there;
Confuſion for once ſeized on (15) Averell's heir;
Which nobody can deny.

(10) Government accuſe this gentleman of great perfidy, in refuſing to betray the rights of the Commons, though they had placed him in the chair for that purpoſe.

(11) This is a wrong-headed zealot. He oppoſes the preſent adminiſtration, though he has no view to getting a place or title by it. Upon the next general election Sir Arch. Acheſon will ſhew him the difference.

A Freeholder of Armagh.

(12) This Baronet can have no regard for this country; having no property in it, and being deſcended from upſtarts and aliens.

Sir James Ware.

(13) We have made the ſtricteſt enquiry about this gentleman, and can only find that he is related to the Provoſt.

(14) A perſon, whoſe republican principles have prevented his promotion, and juſtly endeared him to the people.

(15) By theſe words the Provoſt *cannot* be intended: Biſhop Averell, though raiſed to a mitre by *his* intereſt only, having ungratefully diſappointed him, by leaving his fortune away from him, which I would not have done. Under the word, "Provoſt" in the index to Guicciardini's hiſtory tranſlated, there is a reference to the following paſſage:—

Amongſt

IX.

Firſt (16) Power hobbled up, and cried, " what
" is this rout ?"
" ('Twas he that gave Blackſtone the elegant
" clout)
" Sure *cotton's* included, tho' *cotton's* left out ;
Which nobody can deny.

X. Smooth

" Amongſt the reſt there came to this coucil Francíſco An-
" drea, a bold bad man. He had ſome talents, and was
" thought to have more. His ſtile and utterance were vul-
" gar and provincial; his pleaſantry was groſs ; and his ſeriouſ-
" neſs boiſterous. Of a ſtrong body, he was able—and of a
" licentious mind, he was willing—to accommodate himſelf
" to the vices of the great. Next to the turbulent aſpiring of
" his nature, the debauchery of wine was his favourite pro-
" penſity. But, it was his connexion with a woman which
" raiſed him. An eminent courtezan, joining, to per-
" ſonal charms, the grace of theatrical accompliſhments,
" hath acceſs to power, if it be not intrenched in virtue.
" Franciſco's paramour had theſe advantages, and uſed
" them to promote her lover. He thus became an inti-
" mate of the worſt men in the papal court, and readily
" conſented to be the inſtrument of their views againſt
" his country, in order to ſecure his perſonal advance-
" ment. By their intereſt, he was made preſident of the
" principal religious and literary foundation in that coun-
" try. What indignation did it excite in the wiſe and
" virtuous, to behold the education and principles of the
" riſing age committed to ſuch a guardian ! The treaſures
" of the academy, piouſly bequeathed by the former pre-
" ſident, were waſted to erect an edifice for the peculiar
" habitation of his unworthy ſucceſſor ; and in a ſituation
" diſtinct and ſeparate from the ſeminary, that he might
" be exempted from the diſcipline of the ſociety ; of a
" compliance

X.

(17) Smooth Godfrey declared, "'twas all one
in the greek;
"And hoped, that we never would act upon pique,
"But if George gave a flap, that we'd turn t'other
"cheek;

Which nobody can deny.

"compliance with which, he ought to have been the
"moſt eminent example. He proſtituted his prepoſitorial
"authority to pervert the public principles of the youth,
"to the end, that he might become maſter of the ſecu-
"lar power of the ſociety; and by the moſt barbarous
"oppreſſion injured the fame, and was ultimately inſtru-
"mental to the untimely death of an ingenuous youth,
"whoſe integrity he could not corrupt. He ſoon became
"too notorious for hypocriſy; ſo that his character had
"no refuge in vice, and it ſought for none in virtue.
"But never did he ſo entirely abandon himſelf to infamy,
"as in the government of the ſecond Borgia. Before,
"there might have been obſerved in him a total oblivion
"of right and decency; but the moſt active and deter-
"mined flagitiouſneſs was now profeſſed. The gradati-
"on of his enormities aſtoniſhed good men; inſomuch,
"that inſtead of reſolutely oppoſing their progreſs, they
"were rather employed in wondering whither they
"would reach The Governor, a perverſe, violent,
"timid, capricious and debauched man, perfectly agreed
"with Andrea. A ſordid, yet expenſive houſhold; exceſs
"where it tended to licence,—and defect in every thing
"that conſtitutes dignity, marked this Governour's œco-
"nomy. Midnight heard, but did not terminate the up-
"roar of his feſtivities; whilſt in the morning, the halls
"and galleries of his palace ſeemed to belong to ſome

XI.

(18) Macartney profeſs'd, "that, for half his
" eſtate,
" He wou'd not have wiſh'd this had come in de-
" bate,
" Though he thought the amendments were not
" very great;"

Which nobody can deny.

XII. If

" deſerted manſion: not a domeſtick was to be ſeen, nor
" did they retain any traces of being inhabited, ſave that
" they were ſtained with the ſurfeit of the over-night's
" debauch. If you were ſent for by Borgia, on buſineſs
" the moſt important, from the fartheſt part of the do-
" minion, he frequently was not to be fouud; ſo that you
" returned without ever ſeeing him, unleſs you might
" perhaps deſcry him ſtealing through a poſtern to avoid
" the conference which he himſelf had appointed. His
" private favours were inſults: his public meaſures were
" injuries; and if ſome of his baſe qualities had not
" fruſtrated others of them, his adminiſtration muſt have
" been public ruin. His cruelty was equal to the daſ-
" tardlineſs of his ſpirit. One inſtance will ſuffice. Cer-
" tcin ſoldiers having been ſentenced to be ſhot, he order-
" ed all the boys who performed the martial muſick of
" the battalion, to attend the ceremony of the execution;
" and the more to ſport with the ſympathy of their ten-
" der minds, he commanded them to walk round and
" round the panting corſes of thoſe unhappy victims, that
" not a convulſion nor an agony of expiring nature might
" eſcape their ſenſibility. Amidſt the contempt of the
" wiſe, the deteſtation of the good, and the fury of the
" populace, Borgia and his favourite Andrea, continued
" to conſort in every vice and folly. Wiſdom was, if
" poſſible, enſnared; Integrity corrupted; and Beauty
deceived

XII.

"If the bill they rejected, he ſimper'd and ſaid,
"That the King wou'd appoint a new houſe in
"their ſtead;
"And as for the place-men they'd forfeit their
"bread;"
Which nobody ſhould deny.

"deceived and injured. Never were two men more fit-
"ted for each other, nor for the purſuits in which they
"were naturally engaged. They had no character to
"forfeit: they had no compunctions to elude."
Doctor Wilder.

(16) A very able and ſtrong-built counſellor at law; who maketh many facetious and eloquent ſpeeches in parliament. His action is forcible and eaſy; his figure graceful and compact; the expreſſion of his countenance amiable and forbidding—and his matter equal upon all ſubjects. He formed himſelf on the model of Mr. Malone, and Mr. Hutchinſon—both of whom he much excelleth—the former in dignity and argument, the latter in wit and dexterity. His ſervices have been greatly under-rated by Government, he having as yet only gotten an employment of 1500l. per Ann. beſide another of 600l. per Ann. which he purchaſed.—Nothing but his great intimacy with Sir George Macartney, could have retarded his advancement. He publickly expoſed the ignorance of Judge Blackſtone in point of law, and very much damaged the firſt volume of his Commentaries, not only by handling it very roundly, but by giving it ſeveral thumps againſt the benches, with much grace and energy. And it is to this tranſaction the poet alluded by the words "elegant clout."
Authors of the notes on the epiſtle to G. E. Howard.

(17) A raſh and unthinking man, who prefers ſpeculative notions of liberty to the ſolid and ſubſtantial intereſt of himſelf and his family. He is a great ſloven in his dreſs;

XIII.

The matter was grave, and all joke was a-part ;
Joe Miller, Poor Robin, and Watſon ſo ſmart,
Were now of no uſe, though he had them by heart ;
Which nobody can deny.

XIV. The

dreſs; and has twice refuſed to be made a chief judge though preſſed thereto by Mr. Juſtice Robinſon and others. G. Nangle.

(18) This gentleman, conſidering the great expectations with which he began the world, hath been unlucky. He was ſent to Ruſſia as an ambaſſador, where he got the rheumatiſm; and in his return through Poland he was knighted. He no ſooner got to London, than he had the misfortune to be appointed ſecretary to Lord Townſhend. His connexion with a certain unpopular Earl, it is imagined, brought theſe things upon him. He has the beſt memory in the world, and retaineth a multitude of things, which nobody elſe ever remembered. He not only hath by heart Joe Miller, but the Wit's Vade Mecum, the Merry Fellow, Naſh's Jeſts, Every Man his own Companion, and a variety of other ingenious authors, ſo as that he is never at a loſs for ſomething to ſay.

By Poor Robin.

We are told, that the poet alludeth to a celebrated antient ode, intitled, "the Babes of the Wood."—That ſhining performance, Watſon's Almanack, was of ſingular ſervice to this gentleman and to his country, and gave him great influence in the northern courts, by enabling him to foretel an eclipſe. He hath a large rental, which he ordered to be laid on the table of the Houſe of Commons for the peruſual of the members. His remembering, and quoting, during dinner, at lord Holland's table, every word of a pamphlet written by his Lordſhip, entitled, "Every Man his own Broker," recommended him much

XIV.

The 19) Prime Serjeant then, with a ſhuffling preamble;
Like a nag, that, before he can canter muſt ambie,
Betwixt right and wrong made a whimſical ſhamble,
Which nobody can deny.

XIV. "Twas much to that nobleman's attention, who generouſly gave him juſt notions of the prerogative royal. When the Commons preteneded to ſhare with the privy council in framing money-bills, he ſpoke roundly to them, and told them, that it was very ungenteel, when they were giving a preſent, to make a rout about it, or as he very ſignificantly expreſſed it, "to look a gift-horſe in the mouth." —He is a man of great abilities, but he is ſo modeſt that he can never bring himſelf to make much uſe of them; and publicly declared, one day when he expected to die of the gripes, or ſome obſtruction, in the parliament-houſe, that he would have no monument, being ſatisfied to be entombed in the hearts of his countrymen.

Authors of the notes on the epiſtle to G. E. Howard.

(19) What diverts me moſt in this ge'mman is, his anxiety for fear of loſing popularity, as if he had any to loſe. He is jealous of me, and as peeviſh as an old maid. I love to teaze him. I endeavour to put him on as odious ground as I can in parliament, and then I am the firſt to complain to him, that Government ſhould expoſe their ſervants to ſo much obloquy without occaſion. I magnify to him the favours and confidence I receive from Government, and my correſpondence with Rigby, &c. which nettles him to the heart. He is too finical for Lord Townſhend, who makes very good ſport of him. One

day;

XV.

" 'Twas *important*, he ſaid——and avail'd not a groat,
" But whether it was right, or whether it was naught,
" Or whether he'd vote for it, or whether he wou'd not,"
He'd neither aſſert, nor deny.

XVI. The

day he dined at the Caſtle, and when the company broke up, Lord Townſhend, who pretended to be more in liquor than he was, threw his arms about his neck and cried out, "my dear Tiſdall, My ſheet anchor! My whole depen-"dance! Don't let little Hutchinſon come near me, keep "him off, my dear friend; he's damned tireſome, keep "him off." At other times his Excellency makes formal appointments to dine at Palmerſtown at a diſtant day. The Prime Serjeant invites all the officers of ſtate: Mrs. Hutchinſon is in a flurry; they ſend to me for my cook; and after a fortnight's buſtle, when dinner is half ſpoil'd, his Excellency ſends an excuſe, and dines with any common acquaintance that he happens to meet in ſtrolling about the ſtreets that morning. This ge'mman has a pretty method enough of expreſſing himſelf indeed, but, in points of law, there are better opinions. My friend the late Primate, who knew men, ſaid, that the Prime Serjeant, was the only perſon he had ever met with, who got ready money in effect, for every vote he gave in parliament. He has got, among the reſt, the reverſion of my ſecretary's office; but I think I ſhall outlive him.

Phil. Tiſdall.

(20) This gentleman has not been long in parliament; and has not had an opportunity, therefore, of learning the craft of politicks: But with the ſimplicity and innocence of youth and inexperience, has always eſpouſed the popular party in this country, and reſiſted the encroachments,

XVI.

The next that ſtep'd forward was (20) innocent Phil,
Who ſaid, " that in things of the kind he'd no ſkill,
" But yet that he thought it a *mighty good Bill.*"
Which nobody can deny.

XVII.

Then mov'd to adjourd 'till Monday or ſo,
" That Townſhend might talk to each friend and each foe,
" And then he could gueſs how the matter wou'd go ;"
Which nobody can deny.

XVIII. Thus

croachments of the Crown It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that he has never received any conſiderable favours from Government, or that his offices at preſent ſhould not exceed 5000l. per Annum. He has, however, obtained lately a reverſionary grant of the Alnager's place after the death of John Hely Hutchinſon, eſq; with a promiſe, that a penſion of 1000l. a year at will, which the latter hath lately obtained, ſhall be annexed to the office as an additional ſalary, for the life of the ſaid Philip Tiſdall; which accounts for that inviolable affection which ſubſiſts between them. He gave his intereſt in Ardee to Mr. Ruxton againſt his own brother, rather than diſturb the antient and well-grounded rights of that worthy patriot; and generouſly refuſed to harraſs that gentleman with a vexatious ſuit, aſſiſted by a confederacy in

XVIII.

Thus Hely, Sir George, Godfrey, Power, and Phil,
Would fain have ſeduced them to ſwallow this pill;
But the Commons ſoon ſmoak'd them, and threw out the bill;
Which nobody can deny.

XIX.

And here we conclude our hiſtorical ſtrain;
So God bleſs his Majeſty, (21) long may he reign
To alter our money-bill always——*in vain!*
Which nobody can deny.

in the courts and on the bench, though he might thereby have put money into his ſaid brother's pocket, who is an officer of the court, and at leaſt have enabled him to have carried on the conteſt at Mr. Ruxton's expence:

Dick Dawſon.

(21) I hope this will amount to high treaſon! It wiſhes his Majeſty to live long, but then it is only on condition it ſhould ſeem; and that a condition, which, it is to be hoped, will fail; viz. that his Majeſty may be fruſtrated in the aſſertion of his prerogative over the money of his ſubjects—May not this be conſtrued into a ſpecies of imagining the King's death? Quere. Vide Scroggs, and Jeffries,—the doctrine on Ship-money,—and my pamphlet in 1753 above all.

Chriſt. Robinſon.

LETTER

LETTER XXXV.

TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

My Lord, *Feb.* 4, 1772.

THE ſagacity of malicious ſpeculation may, perhaps, be at a loſs to account for the motives, which induce me thus frequentlyto trouble your lordſhip. The man, who is unknown, cannot hope for fame; and the man who writes againſt Government, the fountain of recompence, cannot expect reward. *Perſonality* is not the character of my writings; nor indeed have I had the temptation of private injury to ſeduce me to it. Your lordſhip has never injured me in any reſpect, other than *as I am an Iriſhman*; and if I bear any prepoſſeſſion againſt you, I bear it in common with millions; it is that prepoſſeſſion which every friend of liberty muſt entertain againſt an Adminiſtration, the profeſſions and practices of which are ſubverſive of freedom. Your Lordſhip perhaps will ſmile when I aſſert, what I know to be the truth, that I write ſolely for the good of my country; nor am I much diſpoſed to controvert your merriment, or to deprive you amidſt your various difficulties and diſgraces, of your only conſolation; that of laughing at every thing which is ſerious.

You

You affect to deſpiſe defeat, yet *canvaſs* the Houſe of Commons on every petty queſtion, with a feminine ſolicitude ;——you pretend to diſregard the printed ſtrictures on your conduct, and yet have the *condeſcenſion* to ſpeculate as to the authors of them, and the *juſtice* to decide on your ſpeculation.

You are happily aſſiſted in the labour of theſe conjectures, by the laureats of your houſhold, by your aids-de-camps in politicks ;—and to enhance their own merit and conſequence, as your advocates, they have attributed theſe hoſtile productions to reſpectable and ſenatorial names.———But, ſurely, you cannot believe that gentlemen, whoſe public conduct has already bid defiance to your reſentment, ſhould be ſo inſenſible to fame, as to hide under an anonymous publication, any thing ſo popular as an impeachment of your Excellency's conduct.

But your Lordſhip's experience might have taught you, that it is not the repreſentation of others, but our own actions, that ſtamp our characters. And how could you, my Lord, whoſe thirſt for glory could rob the grave of Laurels, which ought to have been ſacred to another, be ſo inconſiſtently rapacious as to aſpire to a reproach which needed not to have been your's ?

When the wiſhes of a nation obtained the bill for limiting the duration of parliament, your Excellency candidly relinquiſhed the honour of the law, by diſclaiming the patronage, and reviling

the

the principle, of it. But why you ſhould exceed the malice of your enemies, ſo far as to aſſume to yourſelf the diſhonour of the altered money-bill I cannot conjecture.

A MAN,—whoſe name is only known by your countenance and adoption—whoſe ſentiments are your pleaſure, and whoſe ſubſiſtence your bounty—has, in a newſpaper, publiſhed under your auſpices, and ſuſtained by the contributions of Government, formally juſtified the practice of altering our money-bills.

WAS your Lordſhip jealous, leſt any attack ſhould be made on the country you govern, of which you were not ſuppoſed to be the author, or promoter? Your opponents in Parliament did not aſcribe thoſe alterations to you: Why ſhould you, in your prudence, think it neceſſary to vindicate to yourſelf this charge, in ſpite of your enemies, by employing, in defence of ſuch alterations, the hand that moves by your direction, and thus affixing, as it were, your *privy ſeal* to the tranſaction?

SINCE however you have choſen to appropriate to yourſelf the principle, by undertaking the defence, of theſe alterations, in your polemical gazette—let us examine how far the pen of a Viceroy has been able to ſuſtain the doctrine of tyrants.—You cite one authority, and inſtead of inferences from it, you ſubſtitute aſſertion—Your words are theſe,* "In the year 1729, the Com-

"mons

* See the Batchelor of Jan. 5, 1772.

" mons paſſed an altered money-bill, *without a-*
" *bridging their own privilege*, or betraying the
" rights of the people, which are effectually ſe-
" cured by the *power of rejecting*, conſtitutionally
" veſted in the Houſe."

You ſay that the Commons did not abridge their privilege by their act in 1729!—It follows then, by your admiſſion, that the privilege is at this day exactly the ſame as if that act had not been done—and that therefore this inſtance cannot have any influence whatſoever upon the preſent argument.——If it could, your aſſertion " that " the privilege was not impaired by it," is ſo far falſe; and if it cannot, your precedent is idle, and your application of it abſurd.

But you ſay, " that this privilege is *effectually ſe-*
" *cured* by the *power* veſted in the Commons of *re-*
" *jecting* money-bills."—— Now their privilege with reſpect to money either is ſomething *more* than the power of rejecting, or it is not:——If it be *not* any thing more, then they have *no privilege* whatſoever as to money-for what is a privilege? It is a *right peculiar*.——Now the power of rejecting money-bills is not ſo——for the Commons can reject all *other* bills as well as money-bills, and the King and the Lords can reject money-bills, as well as the Commons.—On the other hand, if it *be* ſomething *more*; then, it is not effectually ſecured by the bare *power of rejection*: *It may*, indeed, be ſecured by that power, provided that power be invariably *exerciſed in every inſtance of infringement*——

becauſe,

becauſe, if ſo, no infringement can ever take place.——Now this only ſhews that it *may be*, but proves not, that it is *neceſſarily*, *of courſe* ſecured by this power; for the *bare power*, implies only a *liberty* of rejecting——whereas the privilege can only be preſerved by actual rejection.

How egregiouſly abſurd, then is it in your Lordſhip to aſſert, that the privilege of the Commons is ſecure in the *power* of rejection, and to uſe that as an argument againſt the *exerciſe* of that power; when it is the *exerciſe* of the power in every caſe of infringement, and *not* the *power* itſelf, that is the ſecurity? But in quoting Primate Boulter, your eccleſiaſtical oracle, your Excellency has been *partial*——had you cited the whole paſſage, it would have appeared, that the Commons in 1729, inſtantly took fire at the violation of their privilege, and were impregnated with the ſame ſentiments which inſpired the Commons in 1753, in 1769, and in 1771; but they were deceived (as you attempted to deceive the Commons this ſeſſion on a ſimilar occaſion) by an inſidious queſtion of adjournment; and during that adjournment they were (as the Right Reverend Prelate informs us,) betrayed into a temporary compliance, to the diſadvantage of their rights.——A *temporary* compliance I ſay!——For in the next ſeſſion, to atone to poſterity for their offence, and to reſcind, as far as they could, ſo dangerous a precedent, they came to the following deciſion: Reſolved *nemine contradicente*, "that this houſe will not proceed "upon any petition, motion, addreſs, *bill*, or

"vote

" vote of credit, for giving any money, unleſs the " matter ſhall have *firſt* taken its *due progreſs* in the " Committees of *Supply* and *Ways and Means.*" This they declared a *ſtanding order*. Now this not only recognizes the great right of the Commons to originate all money-grants, but—as any alteration in England touching the *matter* of the Bill of Supply, muſt for ſo much be an introduction of *new matter*, which cannot by poſſibility, have *firſt taken its due progreſs in the Committees of Supply and Ways and Means*,—it is clear, that this reſolution was framed to render it impoſſible, that any money-bill, ſo *altered*, ſhould paſs for the future.

And now, my Lord, having diſpatched your argument,—let me touch on your perſonality. You triumph in having diſcovered, that the conduct of Mr. Ponſonby and Mr. Brownlow, with reſpect to the altered *bill* in 1753, was inconſiſtent with their conduct, relative to their alter-d *money-bill* of this ſeſſion.——Now what was the caſe of 1753?—— There was a redundancy in the Treaſury, ariſing from *former grants*.——In conſequence of that, a bill for *applying* a part of that redundancy to the diſcharge of the national debt, was that ſeſſion tranſmitted to Great Britain. The miniſters of the Crown, thinking that ſuch a bill tended to *diſpoſſeſs* his Majeſty of the right, which they ſuppoſed, in ordinary courſe, to belong to him, of *applying* all money, which had been once granted to him by the people, did, in the ſpeech from the Throne, in order to guard the prerogative, ſignify his Majeſty's *previous conſent* to ſuch a bill. And the bill was

altered

altered in England, *ſolely* for the purpoſe of inſerting in the preamble, "that his Majeſty's previous "conſent had been *ſo given.*"——Thus the alteration was not an impoſition, nor alteration of any *duty.* Thus, the bill was not a bill for *raiſing* or *granting* money, but for *applying* money *already raiſed and granted.* It was not a bill of *taxation*, or *ſupply*; but of *diſpoſition*, and in ſome meaſure of *reaſſumption*; it was not a bill for giving power *to* the Crown, but taking power away *from* the Crown. The diſpute was not about the *peculiar privilege* of the Commons in *granting* money, but about the *ordinary prerogative* of the Crown in *applying* money *already granted.* In ſhort, one ſide affirmed, it *was* a money-bill, and the other ſide aſſerted it *was not.* And though I admit, that they were the more provident and cautious, who rejected the altered bill, *becauſe it appertained* unto money, yet I maintain, that nothing, but the moſt extreme diſingenuity, could inſinuate that a difference of conduct upon two occaſions ſo diſſimilar, involves inconſiſtency.

But what ſhall we ſay of your Excellency's congruity, when you charge Mr. Brownlow and Mr. Ponſonby with want of uniformity, and omit Mr. Pery; whoſe conduct in that particular coincided with theirs. But it ſeems, it has *of late* been the tone of the Court to make encomiums on Mr. Pery. How long it will laſt I know not.——But I fear the liberal principles which endear him to his country, will work in due time as an *alterative* upon this partiality of the Caſtle. At preſent it is

uſeful

uſeful to contraſt him with Mr. Ponſonby—your Excellency is aware of it.—It is ſometimes worth while to ſuppreſs one's reſentment againſt the real virtue of one man, for the purpoſe of conveying a groundleſs accuſation againſt another.——Your Lordſhip is acquainted with the ſtratagem of the *ſtalking horſe*; and when you wiſh to *level*, at Mr. Ponſonby, you put Mr. Pery *between* you.

YOUR Excellency is not in the wrong to cultivate the ſhade of Mr. Pery.——His growth and ſtature may ſometimes ſhelter you.—But truſt me, my Lord, you are but ill defended by your pennen of the Green-cloth, and by your military amanuenſis. They are *too little* to afford you concealment or protection. Poor gentlemen!——— Condemned not only to the unprofitable labours of native ſterility, but devoted to digeſt and circulate *your Lordſhip's* crudities;———to tranſmit your reſentments, to reconcile your incoherences, and to father your abortions!———Who but muſt commiſerate their lot, the preſent condition of which is, three times a week to undergo the drudgery of impoſed compoſition; and whoſe only proſpect is the miſerable reverſion of a doubtful gratitude, and of a capricious bounty?———

AMIDST the miſcarriage of their toils, they have one conſolation.——They muſt be ſufficiently indifferent to your Excellency's perſon and government.———They are the Swiſs of literature; they fight for *bread*, and not for *victory*; and

and all they desire is to protract the warfare.——If in the lottery of the press, any composition of theirs in your Lordship's favour should turn up, not altogether a blank; it were natural to suppose that that they might wish that its effect were weakened by the confutation of discourse, and that the antidote were administered of a little private *observation* on your Excellency.

Sometimes indeed, (not with a view to compensation doubtless) they assume the part of champions, and speak of the wounds they have received in yourLordship's cause.———Perhaps it is unnecessary to guard your Excellency against the overflowings of generosity!———But if ever the inadvertency of your nature should incline you to any such excess, it will justify you in your return to œconomy, to reflect that their sufferings from your adversaries, will as little entitle them to recompence, as their services to you. Their poverty has attracted pity.———Their impotence has defended them from resentment, and their obscurity from retalliation.

If at any time they shall be compelled even to traduce a patron, or to wound a friend, they are not much to be condemned.———The pen and the poinard of the mercenary, are scarcely his own.———The state of slaves is too low for friendship, or for honour. The man who employs them ought to remember, that this is the property of their condition; and that he who has purchased away their *virtue*, deserves to suffer by their *vice*.

FABRICIUS.

LETTER XXXVI.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.

SIR, *Feb.* 6, 1772.

THE ballad, which I ſent you a few days ago, having, I find, gone through a ſecond edition, I make no doubt you will give a place in your entertaining paper to two others, ſent herewith. They are not indeed enriched with ſuch *learned* and *curious* notes, and they relate chiefly to tranſactions, which happened ſomewhat more than a year ago; the ever-memorable *proteſt* and *prorogation*: but they exhibit very ſtriking likeneſſes of ſome eminent perſonages, and a lively picture of the early part of Ld. Townſhend's adminiſtration. In that light, perhaps, they deſerve to outlive the occaſions that produced them.—If the Muſe ſhould again inſpire the bards of Fiſhamble-ſtreet, you may perhaps hear once more from

Your conſtant Reader

Green Man,
Fiſhamble-ſtreet.

CANTILENA.

A LIST

A LIST OF THE PACK.

TUNE, BALLYNAMONY.

I.

Fellow citizens all, to my ballad give ear,
That we muſt be undone I will make it appear,
Unleſs in defence of our freedom we ſtand
'Gainſt Townſhend, that dunce, and his damnable band.
Then kick out thoſe raſcally knaves, boys,
Freemen we'll be to our graves, boys,
Better be dead than be ſlaves, boys,
A coffin or freedom for me.

II.

But plainly to prove what I here have ſet down,
Regardleſs and fearleſs who ſmile or who frown,
As a palpable proof that all muſt go to rack,
I'll give you their marks, and a liſt of the pack.
Then kick out thoſe raſcally knaves, &c.

III.

At the head of the liſt ſet down A———y firſt,
The chief of his favourites, becauſe he's the worſt,

To ſhew himſelf worthy and fit for his truſt,
Without judgment a judge, he makes juſtice unjuſt.
Then kick out thoſe raſcally knaves, &c.

IV.

Frank A——s comes next, of corruption the ſink,
What a dog muſt he be, who's a rogue in his drink!
No wonder he's fat, ſince our mis'ry's his food,
And he daily gets drunk with poor Ireland's life-blood.
Then kick out thoſe raſcally knaves, &c.

V.

Lo T——l whoſe looks would make honeſt men ſtart,
Who hangs out in his face the black ſign of his heart,
If you thought him no devil, his aim he would miſs,
For he would, if he could, appear worſe than he is.
Then kick out thoſe raſcally knaves, &c.

VI.

Yet T——l unfeeling, and void of remorſe,
Is ſtill not the worſt,—H——y H——n's worſe—
Who feels ev'ry crime, yet his feelings defies,
And each day ſtabs his country with tears in his eyes.
Then kick out thoſe raſcally knaves, &c.

VII.

VII.

See squinting T——e, from the Primate's black
school,
Whom merciful nature design'd for a fool;
T——e, whom not even his folly can save,
For in nature's despight he will needs be a knave.
Then kick out those rascally knaves, &c.

VIII.

If a sinner repentant can angels delight,
To Devils an apostate's as pleasing a sight,
Nor has there been ever such bonefires in Hell
Since Judas's fall, as when O——e fell.
Then kick out those rascally knaves, &c.

IX.

But why must I mention the Knight of *three crows?*
His name is unworthy of verse or of prose;
To lash such a reptile would satire disgrace;
'Tis but *ex officio* he here has a place.
Then kick out those rascally knaves, &c.

X.

Shall such wretches as these o'er our patriots pre-
vail,
And be suffer'd to set our poor country at sale?

No,—let us all join in defence of our right,
And let Ponſonby, Shannon, and Leinſter unite,
To kick out thoſe raſcally knaves, boys,
Freemen we'll be to our graves, boys,
Better be dead than be ſlaves, boys,
A coffin or freedom for me.

ADVICE FROM THE LIBERTY,

OR THE WEAVER'S GARLAND.

I.

My dear fellow ſubjects, who love to be free,
Deſpiſe not my ballad, but liſten to me,
Accept good advice from a brother, a friend,
Who writes for your good, and for no other end.
Derry down, down, down derry down,

II.

My name is Dick White, I'm a weaver by trade;
I hide not my name, ſince of none I'm afraid;
And though I want wit, and my verſe rudely jingle,
I'll tell you a ſtory ſhall make your ears tingle.
Derry down, &c:

III. Our

III.

Our King, Heaven bleſs him, and keep him from ill!
Our friend has been ever, and would be ſo ſtill;
A curſe on thoſe traitors, who make him appear
At odds with his people, that hold him ſo dear!
Derry down, &c.

IV.

This raſcally herd, to the Devil I pitch 'em!
(Muſt we toil, and labour, and ſweat, to enrich 'em?)
To ſerve their own purpoſe, and miſchievous ends,
Firſt ſtrove to enſlave our American friends.
Derry down, &c.

V.

Nor even of our breth'ren of England afraid,
With Star-chamber warrants their rights they invade;
And to bring all their villanious ſchemes to perfection,
They ſtrike at the root, and the right of election.
Derry down, &c.

VI.

And next at poor Ireland they level their blows;
Poor Ireland that ſtill has been led by the noſe:

And to ſhew they reſolv'd both to ruin and fool her,
They ſend over Townſhend, that blockhead, to rule her.
Derry down, &c.

VII.

This Townſhend, they knew, would their purpoſes ſuit,
For the creature he was and the tool of Lord Bute;
To wade through their dirt he could never refuſe,
For, *his character loſt*, he had nothing to loſe.
Derry down, &c.

VIII.

But leaſt we ſhould ſtruggle, the villains determine
To add to our number of red-coated vermin;
And ſwearing 'twas all for the good nation,
They got us to yield to their curs'd *augmentation*.
Derry down, &c.

IX.

And now we have granted them all they could aſk,
The laugh at our folly and throw off the maſk;
They aim a bold ſtroke, all at once to undo
Our honour, our freedom, and property too.
Derry down, &c.

X. The

X.

The Commons, you know, who to us owe their
station,
Are our Stewards to guard the purſe of the
nation;
But now they declare, when our money is wanted,
That the Council, as well as the Commons ſhall
grant it.
Derry down, &c.

XI.

But G—— bleſs our Commons, I mean the ma-
jority,
For Dick would not cry, if he damn'd the mi-
nority,
At once they perceiv'd what a miſchief was brew-
ing,
And flung out * the bill that was meant for our
ruin.
Derry down, &c.

XII.

There's Laneſb'rough, and Shannon, and Leinſter
unite,
Brave Leinſter, our patron, whom none could
affright,

* In November, 1769.

All their friends to the Houſe in a hurry they ſend.
Who, with Ponſonby join'd, may our freedom de-
fend.
Derry down, &c.

XIII.

And Charlemont firm, may the Heavens reward
him!
Whoſe heart is ſtill open to us, like his garden;
And Loftus * ſo powerful, and Longford ſo true,
All bring up their ſquadrons the fight to renew.
Derry down, &c.

XIV.

O'Brien, and Bingham, and Huſſey, and Buſhe,
With Flood at their head, the court paracides puſh,
And Brownlow, and Pery, who reaſon ſo juſt,
And Lucas, our Lucas, ſtill true to his truſt!
Derry down, &c.

XV.

In fine the Court's routed, and Ireland is ſav'd,
With ſuch champions as theſe we can ne'er be en-
ſlav'd!
But now ſee the ſpite of this raſcally crew,
To the devil I pitch them, and give him his due.
Derry down, &c.

XVI. Our

* This noble Lord, after the tranſaction here alluded to, in contempt of every ſocial tie, deſerted his country and his friends.

XVI.

Our worthy Lieutenant comes down to the Houſe,
Proteſts their proceedings are not worth a louſe,
And leaving undone the affairs of the nation,
The ſeſſion concludes with a damn'd prorogation.
Derry down, &c.

XVII.

Here mark, my dear friends, that our ruin's completed,
Since a parliament's uſeleſs, which thus can be treated,
While they ſerve his curs'd purpoſe, he'll fawn and collogue 'em,
But if once they do right, he'll that inſtant prorogue 'em.
Derry down, &c.

XVIII.

The next thing he does by a ſentence unjuſt,
He turns out our friends from their places of truſt,
Our friends who his villainies dar'd to oppoſe,
And fills up their room with our deadlieſt foes.
Derry down, &c.

XIX.

There's renegade O——e, and O——r mean,
And M——n the malſter, that ſcoundrel in grain,

And Jacky, whoſe merits if we would make known,
'Tis enough that we ſay he's your brother, T——e.
Derry down, &c.

XX.

O why ſhould I mention thoſe wretches in place,
Their raſcally names would my ballad diſgrace!
In ſhort, Townſhend choſe them in frolickſome prank,
As matches for J——s, and for Bloomſbury Frank.
Derry down, &c.

XXI.

And now I have ended my ſorrowful tale,
I ſee you all weep, and poor Ireland bewail;
But courage, my friends, ſtill there's hopes left behind,
All yet may be well, if my counſel you'll mind.
Derry down, &c.

XXII.

Thoſe patriots, whom late we ſo ſteady have found,
Heav'n bleſs them, and keep them! are ſtill above ground;
United together, our bulwark they ſtand,
And may ſtill ſave the nation, if we lend a hand.
Derry down, &c.

XXIII. Should

XXIII.

Should Townſhend diſſolve, then the matter is
plain.
Without ſixpence coſt, we'll return them again;
And ridding the Houſe of thoſe raſcally elves,
We'll give them companions will vote like themſelves.

Derry down, &c.

XXIV.

That G—— may bleſs Ireland, our pray'r ſhall be
daily,
And ſave her from A——y, A——s, and H——y,
And we'll pray for our King, and a few of our
Peers,
And may our true Commons live out their eight
years!

Derry down, &c.

XXV.

My loyalty's firm, and be hang'd I would rather,
Than dare to deny that our King is our father;
But then 'tis as true, that our country's our mother,
And that ſide we all know's much ſurer than t'other.

Derry down, &c.

XXV.

Then let us with ſhouts our brave patriots purſue,
And firmly ſtick by them whatever they do;
For freemen we are, and will be to our graves,
Since they, who have courage, need never be
ſlaves.

LETTER XXXVII.

LETTER XXXVII.

TO THE PRINTER.

SIR, *Feb.* 25, 1772.

*THE laſt meaſure of government (that complicated inſtance of avowed corruption and contempt for parliament) has created an indignation in the people, which Oppoſition without deſerting, is far from having pacified. The nation is not now to be taught, that a ſignal contempt for the advice of Parliament, in purſuit of a meaſure of the higheſt national injury, is unconſtitutional, and that the mean apology of legal prerogative (if ſuch an exertion of prerogative be legal) betrays a diſpoſition to abuſe the power of the Crown, and not a reſpect for the laws of the land. They ſee with reſentment the authority of their country deſpiſed, in an attempt on its integrity, and an addition to its expences; they have common ſenſe, which is the beſt judge of their conſtitution, and common diſtreſs, which is a feeling judge of their ability. It is their ſpirit which gives ſupport, as it is their cauſe which gives credit to oppoſition in Parliament:

* The Houſe of Commons had reſolved, "*that ſeven "Commiſſioners had been found ſufficient for the management "of the Revenue*;" and had ordered the Speaker to lay their reſolution before the Lord Lieutenant to the end that it might be tranſmitted to his Majeſty. Notwithſtanding this reſolution, five new Commiſſioners of Revenue were ſoon after appointed, all of them Members of Parliament; in conſequence of which a reſolution was propoſed "*that the Commiſſioners "of Exciſe ſhould be ſuſpended from their functions in Parlia-"ment.*"

Parliament: at once, the ſpring, by which it is fed, and the ſtream by which it is purified. The policy and the gratitude of the Houſe of Commons ſhould ſuſtain and enliven the patriot ardour of the publick.——There are times of uncommon danger, and ſhould, I think, be times of uncommon exertion. When the kingdom is injured in a *few* inſtances, it may not be treachery to moderate oppoſition; we then refer to the general character, and known tendency of government, and excuſe the indiſcretions of a political father, who *in general* ſhews ſome affection for his children: but when we live in a reign whoſe tranſgreſſions are not *overſights*; on the contrary, whoſe ſpirit and bias are univerſal corruption, univerſal profligacy, a total contempt for the rights, the virtue, and the property of the ſubject,—there is no place for ſpeculation, no excuſe for neutrality.

We have not a people commercial and authoritative like the Engliſh. Our exiſtence, as a nation, depends on our having a Parliament; and as the Lords have not retained unimpaired all the power of their aſſembly, the ſurviving authority of Parliament ſeems to reſide in the Houſe of Commons;—to maintain this aſſembly in all its powers, and in every honeſt exertion, muſt be the object of the publick. But theſe rights are not to be preſerved by the humility of patriotiſm, nor the ſpirit of innovation to be withſtood by it; the timid champion may provoke, but will never conquer.——As a part of the aſſertion of their dignity, the reſolution of the Houſe of Commons, to refuſe its aſſiſtance to a new

revenue

revenue law, was laudable. Their motive, for applying to their own reſolution, rather than to any prepoſſeſſion in the royal mind in favour of popular addreſſes, was well founded; for they knew the inefficacy of ſupplication: they ſaw in it the reception of the addreſſes of England, and felt in it the contempt of their own reſolution. The ſpirit of the age, they underſtood, was to treat the people in the character of ſuppliants, not only with refuſal, but with perſonal rudeneſs; they therefore thought it adviſeable no more to rely on foreign aſſiſtance, but to appeal to their conſtitutional and domeſtick reſources,—their own reſolutions:—they reſolved that, when, in contradiction to the ſenſe of Parliament and the intereſt of the kingdom, a headſtrong ſpirit of corruption ſhall impoſe a vicious inſtitution, the Houſe of Commons will not cooperate in a meaſure which inſults them, nor bring up the rere of mal-adminiſtration.—Prolific as the preſent Government is in ſchemes of national ruin, they will not furniſh it with a dangerous encouragement, by giving practicability to a commiſſion which, notwithſtanding all the mean aſſiſtance of the Senate, (if that ſhould be given) muſt ſtill remain an additional expence, an additional influence, an injury to the revenue, and an inſult on Parliament.

We do the King the honour to ſuppoſe, that when he ſees the aukward and ruinous ſtate of his revenue, (a danger of which he has been already forewarned) he will abandon a pernicious plan which his Commons condemned, and return to that antient

tient ſyſtem, of which their wiſdom approved. If the revenue is now diſtracted, if the Commiſſioners cannot deſerve their ſalaries, if there is neither effect nor order in the Cuſtoms, or the Exciſe, who is in fault?——The Houſe of Commons, who had before condemned the addition, and could not now with ſpirit or conſiſtency carry it into effect; or the Court, who, acquainted with the ſenſe of the Commons, made an addition which could not expect the aſſiſtance of Parliament, and which without ſuch aſſiſtance muſt diſtract the revenue? In binding up their Legiſlative, the Houſe of Commons conſidered three things,—their dignity, their conſiſtency, and the moſt eligible way of managing the revenue;—they were perſuaded, and had determined, that the new commiſſion was not the moſt eligible way of collecting the revenue, they conſidered their conſiſtency in that determination, and conſulted their dignity by not deſerting an opinion ſo ſolemnly given, in compliance with the arrogance of the Court.

THIS ſtep in the Commons was certainly juſtifiable, but not ſufficient; and therefore the Oppoſition had recourſe to *ſuſpenſion*——It has been by many conſidered as a ſevere and unconſtitutional idea——it has not been underſtood.——The power of the Houſe of Commons to puniſh for contempt, either by *expulſion* or *commitment* will hardly be called unconſtitutional; and yet expulſion with reſpect to the member, is infinitely more ſevere ——becauſe it is irrevocable, becauſe it totally deprives him of his ſeat, and expoſes him to the chance

chance, the trouble, and the expence of a new election.——With reſpect to the conſtituent, *expulſion* is not more lenient than *ſuſpenſion*; becauſe during the interval between expulſion and a new election, the electors are unrepreſented, and becauſe during a ſimilar interval, in the inſtance of ſuſpenſion, they may apply for their member, until which application they cannot complain, and until the refuſal of ſuch an application, Parliament cannot be called ſevere.

I DO not, upon this occaſion, adopt the modern doctrine of expulſion; but ſurely, *a miniſterial character*, at this time, muſt have uncommon fortitude, and a great indifference about his electors, when he ſolicits expulſion inſtead of ſuſpenſion;—"ſince conſiſtency will not now permit him to diſclaim the tenets of the Court, and obliges him to acknowledge, that expulſion is diſqualification as to him, and may be the impoſition of another candidate, againſt whom the majority of the conſtituents have voted."

WITH reſpect to commitment, it reſembles ſuſpenſion, in leaving the elector for a time unrepreſented; but exceeds ſuſpenſion, in inflicting a puniſhment on the member, and unites the objection to this ſuſpenſion, to the hardſhip of penalty and perſonal confinement.

THE idea of the ſuſpenſion propoſed was no more than this, that when a member ſhall act in contempt of the Houſe of Commons, and ſhall labour under the ſuſpicion of corrupt influence,—the houſe upon

upon defenſive, not vindictive motives, will ſequeſter him from the body he has inſulted, and deprive him for a time, from acting in a truſt, given by conſtituents when he was in another ſituation, and whom, in his preſent ſituation, he muſt probably injure, ſo long as he prefers the degrading emolument of his office to the repreſentation of his electors, the eſteem of the Commons, and the honour of ſitting in Parliament.——Surely, in juſtice to the conſtituent, ſuch a man ought to be ſuſpended; and if his conſtituents deſire a new election, let him, *at their deſire*, be *expelled* alſo. But why go to extremes in the firſt inſtance?

We wiſh to proceed by the gentleſt methods, even on occaſions, where effectual methods are indiſpenſible, and it is, with concern, we are obliged to ſeek for a more ſolid ſecurity, than the amiable intercourſe between the King and his ſubjects. ——Diſcountenanced as we are at preſent, we muſt appeal from the facility of the royal ear to the Conſtitution itſelf; and upon this occaſion, the Oppoſition endeavoured to inform Government, that acting within the ſphere of its own authority, the Houſe of Commons can prevent the increaſe of Court influence, and from a new project of corruption, derive a power to defeat the purpoſe of the meaſure, and at the ſame time diminiſh the following of the Court, ſtigmatize, and diſappoint it. I ſay, they endeavoured to ſhew the publick, that the natural vigour of our conſtitution could counteract its diſorders, and from the putrid violence

of

of the diſtemper, derive a new health——a new purity.

STILL we are told by Miniſtry, that ſuſpenſion is unwarrantable.——*That Miniſtry*, who maintained diſcretionary expulſion, conſequential diſqualification, and the unconſtitutional ſubſtitution of a candidate, repulſed by a majority of the conſtituents, cannot be reconciled to the ſeverity of ſuſpenſion, that unmerciful and arbitrary proceeding, which does not expel, does not diſqualify, does not force a rejected candidate on the electors——The formidable reſerves of parliamentary privilege come upon their minds, and confound them.——If the Houſe of Commons can ſuſpend, its reſolution, they pretend, may be equal to law. Where is the ſecurity of the ſubject? Where is the neceſſity of the place-bill?

WE pity the unhappy deſtiny of an Adminiſtration, which upon every occaſion, is obliged to diſclaim itſelf.——The Proteus of our Government deſcends to the meanneſs of a thouſand ſhapes, without the good fortune of being concealed in any;—whenever it acts, whenever it is concerned, we always diſcover, in all its changes, a dangerous violence, and a fooliſh diſguiſe.

AT a time, when it is the faſhion of the Court, to ſee the latent dangers of parliamentary privilege, let me offer an exception in an humble privilege, which cannot offend, and which has been juſt violated——the privilege of adviſing——This is no two-edged weapon, ſtriking the Crown on one

one ſide, and the ſubject on the other, but a mediating power, which gives relief and decorum to popular impetuoſity.——The Sovereign ſhould conſider, that by diſcountenancing this authority, he not only hazards the love of his people, but the tranquility of his government, and that by compelling the ardent qualities of his people into a narrow and a painful compaſs, he may cauſe a convulſion, in which, not his dominions alone, but his throne may be confounded.

HORTENSIUS.

LETTER

LETTER XXXVIII.

So, to effect his Monarch's ends,
From hell a VICEROY *devil aſcends,*
His budget with corruptions cramm'd,
The contributions of the damn'd,
Which with unſparing hand he ſtrews,
Round COURTS *and* SENATES *as he goes,*
And then at Beelzebub's black hall
Complains his budget was too ſmall. SWIFT.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GEORGE LORD VISCOUNT TOWNSHEND.

MY LORD, *June* 1, 1772.

ALTHOUGH I have not preſumed (as I am told dedicators generally do) previouſly to ſolicit your lordſhip's acceptance and patronage of the following trifle, yet do I flatter myſelf that the ſingularly peculiar propriety of this addreſs will ſufficiently apologize for my deviation from the accuſtomed mode.

THIS performance, my lord, could not be inſcribed to any other than your lordſhip. The great maſter of Caricatura, you are univerſally acknowledged

ledged to ſtand at the head of that art, in which the following ſketch is, I am ſenſible, no more than a rude and imperfect eſſay. To whom then ſhould the pupil look up for countenance and protection but to the maſter, from the admiration and ſtudy of whoſe works he was firſt excited to imitate them, and whoſe experience of the difficulty has inſtructed him to make allowances for imperfection?

THERE is yet another and a ſtronger reaſon, which impelled me to make this offering to your lordſhip. You, my lord, of all men, are (or ought to be) the beſt acquainted with the perſon, who is the principal figure in the piece before you, and are, of conſequence, the beſt qualified to judge of the reſemblance. I am aware that I incur the imputation of preſumption and arrogance in no ſmall degree, when I thus ſolicit the attention of the nicer critic; but, my lord, I acknowledge my pride; *principibus placuiſſe*" is my great ambition; and I ſhould eſteem my performance and myſelf more honoured by a ſmile of approbation from your lordſhip, than by the applauſe and admiration of the undiſcerning million.

SOME friends of mine, my lord, who pretend alſo to be connoiſſeurs, inſiſt that, as there are ſome features of ſo groteſque a caſt, that no extravagance of colouring (though even from your lordſhip's pencil) can heighten the ridicule; ſo are there ſome characters ſo diſtorted and deformed as to mock the

powers

powers of Caricatura. Upon this principle they further argue, that I am about to ſend this eſſay into the world under a falſe title, and that I ſhould have called it, not a Caricatura, but an Hiſtorical Picture. This is a queſtion, my lord, far beyond my abilities to determine, and, if I were qualified, it would ill become me to aſſume the deciſion: it is now before your lordſhip's and the publick tribunal, and I ſhall only ſay that, whatever the work be, it is moſt heartily at your ſervice.

YOUR lordſhip will, perhaps, wonder that I conceal my name: I am a proud man, my lord, and incredible as it may appear to your lordſhip, I am alſo a modeſt one: I chuſe therefore not to put myſelf in the way of thoſe praiſes and rewards, which your gratitude and munificence would be ſolicitous to confer, and which would be equally offenſive to my modeſty and my pride.

With all that deference and regard which your lordſhip has ſo eminently deſerved of every inhabitant of Ireland,

I have the honour to be, my lord,
Your lordſhip's warmly devoted
And dutiful obſervant
(though unknown) admirer,

Trinity-College.

THE AUTHOR.

THE VICEROY;

A POETICAL CARICATURA:

(Addreſſed to a certain great Lord.)

WHILE you, againſt both wind and tide,
The nation's bark attempt to guide,
(Though ſcarcely credible, 'tis true)
Without one ſeamen in your crew,
None wiſer than yourſelf on board,
To mock the folly of his Lord;
Let an old Tar, who makes his boaſt,
He knows the ſoundings and the coaſt;
Through many a ſtorm hath work'd an oar,
And mark'd each rock from ſhore to ſhore,
Who, though he ſcorns the empty Maſter,
Would guard the Veſſel from diſaſter;
Let him your ignorance adviſe,
(For once endeavour to be wiſe)
Let him, with no unfriendly view,
Point out the road you ſhould purſue,
And ſave from everlaſting ſhame
The ragged remnant of your fame.

YET,

YET, ere I enter on the taſk,
Permit me, gracious ſir, to aſk
What envious ſtars combin'd to pour,
Their influence on thy natal hour?
Why you, whom firſt the forming mind
For walks of humbler life deſign'd,
To ſtrut in ſome inferior part,
A Tyro of the graphic art,
With wretched pencil to debaſe
Heaven's favourite work, the human face,
To magnify and hold to ſhame
Each little blemiſh of our frame;
Of talents, admirably fit
To play at hide and ſeek with wit,
And, ever blundering in the dark,
To aim at ſenſe and miſs the mark;
Why you ſhould quit the peaceful ſhore
And madly brave the tempeſt's roar?
Why, like the Aſs of Eſop's day,
Who rudely ap'd the Spaniel's play,
Stranger alike to ſhame and fear,
You buz about the royal ear,
Mix with the honour'd few, who aim
By noble deeds to ſoar to fame,
And turn to farce—deſpiſed thing!
The ſacred character of king?

SAY, could not one of all the train
That form your levee's motley ſcene,
No ſupple cringing hungry knave,
No penſion'd tool, no mitred ſlave,

Who courts with pious ſupplication
Your godlike province of tranſlation,
No prieſt, whoſe hope on you alone
Depends, to ſlumber on a throne,
No eſſenc'd fop, or wit profeſt,
Who ſimpers o'er the mangled jeſt,
And, ſelf-complacent to a wonder,
Bows round and ſmiles at every blunder,
Could none inform you of this truth,
(A leſſon fit for earlieſt youth,
So plain 'twere needleſs to defend it,
* Sir George himſelf may comprehend it)

O Though

* Sir George.) When the critics, ſome centuries hence ſhall comment upon this poem, they will not be a little gravelled to diſcover, what Sir George was meant by the author in this place. We may ſuppoſe ſome one of them thus gravely offering his conjecture :—' The commenta-
' tors are all in the dark concerning the perſon here point-
' ed at: the learned *Lipſius Minor* holds it to have been
' Sir George Saville, a ſpirited and independent baronet,
' whom hiſtorians mention as making a conſiderable figure
' amongſt the remonſtrants of thoſe diſtempered times.
' Scriblerianus imagines it was George Faulkner, an emin-
' ent author, book-ſeller, and printer, of that æra, whoſe
' name hath been handed down to us, and ſhall be tranſ-
' mitted to the moſt remote poſterity in thoſe invaluable,
' though ſcarcely legible, records, the Dublin Journals:
' his friends, out of pleaſantry, were wont to call him
' Sir George, the prince of printers, the emperor of
' Grub, the oaken-footed Elzevir, &c. and innumerable
' teſtimonies aſſure us, that, if he was not really knighted,
' he deſerved the honour much better than many of his
' cotemporaries, who received it.—The better opinion,
' however ſeemeth to be that the Sir George here meant

' was

Though unpretending dulneſs finds
Compaſſion from the ſterneſt minds,
And, if through common life we tread,
We aſk the heart and not the head,
Yet, circumſtance of place and time
Makes incapacity a crime.

How long, devoted land, ſhalt thou
† To meanneſs, pride, and folly, bow;

The

‘ was a right honourable and diſtinguiſhed perſonage, who
‘ was chief writing-clerk and remembrancer to the noble
‘ lord to whom the epiſtle is addreſſed. It is related of
‘ him that all the copies of a work then much in requeſt,
‘ and particularly admired by his patron, called Joe Mil-
‘ ler's Jeſts, being accidentally conſumed in the great fire
‘ in the year 1769, he undertook for a conſiderable ſum of
‘ money, from the mere ſtrength of his memory, to fur-
‘ niſh a bookſeller with a copy for the preſs: but behold!
‘ when the expected publication appeared, it was full of
‘ blunders and interpolations: the ſtories indeed were re-
‘ tained; but the jeſt appeared to have evaporated, and a
‘ *caput mortuum* only remained.’

‘ N. B. Perſons were in thoſe days ſtyled right honour-
‘ able, not as now, for their own merits and abilities on-
‘ ly, but meerly as being members of a certain miniſterial
‘ junto or cabal, called, the privy-council, which has
‘ been long ſince aboliſhed, and which was even then be-
‘ come ſo infamous, that no perſon of any character
‘ would accept of the degrading diſtinction: Strype has
‘ preſerved a letter from a noble duke about this time
‘ requeſting to have his name ſtruck out of the liſt.’—

Scaligerianus.

† A learned friend, who is now employed in writing notes, and an ample commentary upon this Poem, to be annexed

The paſſive prey of every tool
That bends to Bute's deſpotic rule?
How long implore with fruitleſs prayer
A *preſent* father's foſtering care?
He to an happier ſiſter-iſle
Confines, alas! the partial ſmile:
There, while the royal ſplendors ſtream,
Her children bleſs the genial beam,
Which wide, thro' all the favour'd ground
Diffuſes life and vigour round;

annexed to ſome future edition, for his own and the public emolument, *(more Warburtoniano)* has permitted the author to publiſh the following ſpecimen of his powers of critical inveſtigation.——'There is much ſatire concealed under 'theſe words, meanneſs, pride, and folly: a ſhort review of 'the characters of ſome late chief governors will furniſh us 'with a key:——The diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of the 'Hertford adminiſtration is univerſally allowed to have been 'a meanneſs, almoſt beggarly, even in the expences of his 'houſhold; ſome have gone ſo far as to ſay, that his ex-'cellency's turnſpit, having been a few days miſſing, was at 'laſt found to have littered in the oven: the empty ſplen-'dor, and oſtentatious magnificence of his predeceſſor have 'juſtly ſubjected him to the charge of pride: his grace of 'Bedford, having an equal title to each quality, may walk 'down to poſterity in either character:——But, what head 'ſhall we find for the cap of folly? The earl of Halifax, his 'bittereſt enemies will admit to be no fool; it is charity to 'wiſh that he had never merited a more diſgraceful appel-'lation: the word folly then we acknowledge to be a *dignus 'vindice nodus*, and therefore leave it to the ſagacity of 'ſome future commentator."——

Grubæus.

Whilſt * Erin, deep immerſt in night,
Nor feels the beam, nor hails the light,
Chear'd not with one benignant ray,
Since † Cheſterfield's unclouded day;
That day, to fond remembrance dear,
Still honour'd by a grateful tear,
When firſt an happy people knew
From Stanhope's care what kings ſhould do;
When laſt, perhaps, was clearly ſhewn
The bright diſtinction of a throne.

‡ Lucas, for whoſe unwearied care
To heaven aſcends the general prayer,

Whoſe

* Erin.) One of the antient names of Ireland.

† An ingenious foreigner, ſpeaking of the national character of the Iriſh, has the following obſervation:—'I cannot here avoid condemning one part of the behaviour of 'theſe people; they are too fond of their governors before 'trial, and too often have cauſe to be diſſatisfied with them 'after: this carries an appearance of lightneſs and inconſtancy, which is not the character of the people, for they 'ſeem very mindful of thoſe who have governed them 'wiſely and generouſly, and there is one Cheſterfield whom 'they ſometimes remember with pleaſure at their feaſts"—
Armenian letters, written in the year 1756.

‡ Doctor Charles Lucas, late repreſentative in parliament for the city of Dublin, a gentleman, who (as is always the caſe where party draws the character) hath received a meaſure both of cenſure and panegyric, much beyond his deſervings: one merit however, his moſt embittered enemies are compelled to allow him, viz. a conſiſtency and uniformity of parliamentary conduct; in which, it is but bare juſtice to ſay, he ſtood without a rival.——This poem was written in the lifetime of Dr. Lucas, though not publiſhed 'till after his death.

Whoſe patriot heart with honeſt pride
For years hath ſtemm'd corruption's tide,
Say thou, " in various nature wiſe,"
What boots how pure the fountain riſe?
If, tainted by the courſe it came,
We loathe the violated ſtream:

O THOU, in whom concenter'd ſhine
The virtues of the Brunſwic line,
To whom heav'n's bounty hath aſſign'd
The faireſt lot of humàn kind,
To rule in peace with ſteady hand
The ſovereign of a willing land,
What 'vail's it o'er a diſtant plain,
That freedom hail thy golden reign, §

§ The diſcontented, of whom (incredible as it may appear) there are not a few, will here, perhaps be ready to cry out, " Praiſe undeſerved is ſatire in diſguiſe."——But what perſon, who coolly conſiders the bleſſings he enjoys under the preſent mild and equitable adminiſtration, who contemplates the undecaying, the unaſſailed vigour of the Britiſh conſtitution, what man, I ſay, but will exclaim with grateful indignation,

O fortunatos nimium, ſua ſi bona nôrint,
Angligenas?

For my own part, I acknowledge, that, in what light ſoever our preſent moſt gracious ſovereign preſents himſelf to my view, he fails not to call to my remembrance that very beautiful and animated apoſtrophe of Swift to his royal grandfather:

Fair Britain, in thy Monarch bleſt,
Whoſe virtues bear the ſtricteſt teſt;

Whom

That commerce bleſs the happy ground,
And art's ſweet bloſſoms ſmile around?
What boots that heaven each grace impart
Which forms to worth thy liberal heart,
In ev'ry joy that claims a ſhare,
That feels for ev'ry human care?
Say, what to us——in evil hour
If tyrant hands aſſume thy pow'r,
If, ſtill conſign'd to knave or fool,
We curſe the delegated rule?
Britannia, in her Monarch bleſs'd,
May boaſt the virtues of his breaſt,
The medium foul, the mirror baſe,
No genuine feature can we trace.

Good heav'n! for what peculiar crimes,
Beyond the guilt of former times,
Is Ireland ever doom'd by fate
To groan beneath oppreſſion's weight;
To nouriſh with her beſt encreaſe
The fell deſtroyers of her peace?
Domeſtick traitors to her cauſe,
Who ſell her rights and ſpurn her laws;
And alien vermin, who devour
Her ripen'd fruit and opening flow'r,
Yet, with illiberal ſelfiſh aim,
Confine and circumſcribe the ſtream,

Which

Whom never faction could beſpatter,
Nor miniſter nor poet flatter.
What juſtice in rewarding merit!
What magnanimity of ſpirit!
What lineaments divine we trace
Through all his figure, mein, and face! &c.

Which bounteous heav'n ordain'd to run
Free as thy beams, all-chearing ſun!
Inſatiate peſts of human kind,
Whoſe poiſon taints the royal mind,
Corrupts the fountain at its ſource,
And turns each bleſſing to a curſe?
What crimes I ſay hath Ireland ſhewn
Which Britain claims not as her own?
Hot from the violated bed
Doth rank adultery rear her head
With fouler ſtains?——" No," Grafton cries * ;
" No," Groſvenor for the herd replies.
Or hath ſome bold bad man appear'd,
To every touch of conſcience ſear'd,
Form'd by ſome Dæmon in his rage,
A choſen curſe to mark the age,
Who, ſingular in vice, and odd,
Diſdains the paths by others trod,
Whoſe giant-guilt hath ſoar'd ſo high
It madly ruſhes to the ſky,
And calls from heav'n's vindictive hand
The full perdition on our land?
To Britain turn——there † Rigby thrives;
Weymouth his country's wreck ſurvives;

* The breaches of the matrimonial contract here pointed at are too recent to render a circumſtantial detail neceſſary.

† Rigby, &c.) " To preſerve the periſhable infamy" of theſe deteſted names (amongſt many others equally illuſtrious) and to hand them down to poſterity in their native colours, without diminution or impair, an ingenious gentleman is now preparing for the preſs, a work, intitled, An Hiſtory of the Britiſh Worthies of our own Times; in this will appear a full diſplay of the hallowed myſteries

Daſhwood yet lives, and Sandwich ſtill
Claims the pre-eminence in ill:——
Fall'n as we are, a ſet ſo vile
Was ne'er the produce of *our* iſle.

YET, thanks to Ruſſel's generous care,
This iſle her crop in time may bear;
In time——but diſtant be the hour!
May nurſe a March, or boaſt a Gower,
And rival on the rolls of ſhame
A Norton's execrable name:
Thanks, Ruſſel, thanks!—The mighty debt
Ierne never ſhall forget:
Safe treaſur'd in her grateful breaſt
Thy unexampled bounties reſt;
Thy efforts for her wealth's increaſe,
Thy fond attention to her peace;
‡ Thy active valour, which of yore
Frighted invaſion from her ſhore,

Matur'd

of the Monks of Bedmenham-abbey, and ſome anecdotes of the Beef-ſteak-Club, never before publiſhed.

‡ Thy active valour.) Valour has been divided by ſome writers, into the active and the paſſive; for which of theſe his Grace of Bedford ſtands moſt particularly diſtinguiſhed, the work hinted at in the foregoing note will probably determine. It is certain, however, that when Thurot, with his handful of ill-appointed free-booters, made a deſcent upon our Northern coaſt, he was actually preparing, with all the activity and expedition conſiſtent with military diſcipline and field-parade, to chaſtiſe in perſon the inſolent invader; but Thurot, terrified at his preparations, (or having compleated his purpoſe of exciting a general alarm) retired precipitately, and deprived his Grace of the laurels which he muſt unavoidably have reaped, in that hazardous expedition.

Matur'd by ſufferings in the day
§ Of Litchfield's memorable fray;
But, chief of all, thy ſkill refin'd
To open and enlarge her mind;
Thy pious ardour to diveſt
Of vulgar prejudice her breaſt,

§ Litchfield's memorable fray.) His grace had upon this occaſion a glorious opportunity of ſignalizing his paſſive or ſuffering valour, and it is agreed on all hands, that he reaped the full advantage of it.——A little circumſtance is ſaid to have happened about that time, which is worth relating. The late gallant Sir Peter Warren, in the war before laſt, having, in a letter to the Secretary of State, informed him, "that he had met the enemy in a certain "latitude, and given them a hearty drubbing;" the letter, as is cuſtomary, was ſhewn to his majeſty.——The old King, who did not value himſelf upon a critical knowledge of the Engliſh language, applied to ſome of the circle for an explanation of the word *drubbing*: the Earl of Cheſterfield is ſaid to have anſwered, "that, though he was "himſelf incapable of giving his Majeſty the ſatisfaction "he required in that point, he doubted not but his Grace "of Bedford could ſufficiently explain it, as he had under-"gone a diſcipline of the kind very lately at Litchfield "races."—It muſt not be forgotten here, that ſome eſſential perſonal ſervices rendered to the Duke at thoſe races, were the foundation of his attachment to Mr. Rigby; an attachment, which (ſuch is the perſevering obſtinacy that marked his Grace's character through life) ſeemed daily to increaſe in ſtrength with the daily-increaſing unworthineſs of its object ——It is whiſpered indeed, beſide, that his Grace, or ſome one of his family, lay under ſome obligations, of another kind, to this Right Honourable Gentleman; and that Mr. Rigby, who *ſuffered* for him at Litchfield, has ſince, upon ſundry delicate occaſions, *acted* for him alſo.

Each narrow bias to remove
And plant the principles you love.

WARM with this elevated aim
To raiſe Ierne's future fame,
When, full of years and honour too,
To Heav'n her Baldwin's ſpirit flew,
To aid you in the vaſt deſign
(Fit only for an heart like thine)
You found, by happy inſtinct known,
A ſoul congenial with your own:
By the Court-creed's refinements ſage
To form with care the riſing age;
To pluck each growing virtue forth,
And choak the ſeeds of future worth;
To baniſh from the minds of youth
Each obſolete unfaſhion'd truth;
To teach their views to ſoar above
The Quixote-dreams of publick love;
To bow their ſpirit to the rule
Of every miniſterial tool:
To make them crouch beneath the rod,
And tremble at a tyrant's nod,
You plac'd—nor fruitleſs was the care—
Your * Andrews in the vacant chair:

Of

* The Right Honourable Francis Andrews, L. L. D. one of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy Council, (vide N. B. note, p. 314.) and Provoſt of the Univerſity of Dublin; to which ſtation he was advanced upon the death

Of talents for the purpoſe fit,
A mongrel kind of baſtard wit;
A ſly inſinuating art
To turn and wind th' unguarded heart;
Skill to aſſume in open day
The maſk of candour, to betray;

A ſervile

death of the Reverend Richard Baldwin, in the year 1758. ——It would exceed the limits of a note, to enter into a minute detail of the various ſteps, by which he raiſed himſelf to that once reſpectable and important ſituation, or of his earneſt, if not honeſt, endeavours to fulfil the expectations of his moſt noble patron. From the hour of his advancement he laboured with the moſt active and vigilant induſtry to acquire ſuch an influence, as might enable him to nominate the two members of the Univerſity: his induſtry, ſave in the ſingle inſtance of Doctor Clement, the Vice Provoſt, who was returned to the laſt Parliament ſorely againſt his will, has been crowned with ſucceſs; and the conſequence has been (as it was natural to have expected) that his members have to a man been ſuch as were moſt fit for the purpoſes of our miniſterial rulers.—— His labours have in a recent melancholy inſtance produced an effect, which it is charity to hope he could not have intended or foreſeen; Mr. James Johnſton, a member of the Univerſity, a young gentleman of good character and promiſing abilities, having dared to give his vote, at the laſt general election, contrary to the dictatorial mandate, and having had beſide the ſuperlative inſolence publickly to charge the Provoſt with attempting to intimidate and influence the electors, was for theſe reaſons, and for theſe reaſons only, expelled the Univerſity. From the ſeverity of this ſentence Mr. Johnſton appealed to the juſtice of the viſitors, (their Graces the Lord Primate and the Archbiſhop of Dublin) who were of opinion that he had a right to be reſtored:——It will not, however, be wondered

A ſervile pride, that creeps or climbs
Juſt with the temper of the times;
And impudence, which all allow,
Would fix a bluſh on Norton's brow:
Such, Ruſſel, was thy minion's claim;
By ſteps like theſe he roſe to fame;
Theſe were the merits which prevail'd
When virtue wept, and Lawſon fail'd.

† O THOU, with whom at firſt began
The poet's indigeſted plan,
And, wide howe'er th' excurſions tend,
With whom the rhapſody ſhall end,
Forgive the wand'rings of a muſe,
Who now her favourite taſk renews,
Who, loving praiſe where praiſe is due,
Of conſequence is fond of you.

BLEST

dered at, that the ſentence of expulſion was ultimately confirmed, when it is recollected, that the Duke of Bedford was at that time Chancellor of the Univerſity. The young gentleman, whoſe inclination led him to the clerical profeſſion, and whoſe ſtudies had been directed to that object, finding the avenue thus barred againſt him, and his fair proſpects thus unexpectedly clouded (it being impoſſible for him to get himſelf ordained, without having firſt taken a degree, which could now be obtained only at ſome other Univerſity, at an expence which he could ill ſupport) died about a year ago of a broken heart.

† O thou, &c.) Primâ dicte mihi, ſummâ dicende camœnâ. Horat.

BLEST with an undiſputed claim
To the fair wreath of private fame;
Bleſt, to a fulneſs of deſire,
In your own houſe, at your own fire;
* Sprung from a line to which ſhe owes
Leſs luſtre far than ſhe beſtows,
A partner of the ſocial hour
With every virtue for her dow'r;
And, next of fortune's gifts, a race
To crown an Emperor's embrace;
What madneſs led thee to engage
On publick life's tumultuous ſtage;
† To ſtrut and fret in aukward pain,
And marr the buſineſs of the ſcene;
Soldier at once and Stateſman too,
Our praiſe to challenge as your due,
Yet want, to perfect either part,
The ſtateſman's head or ſoldier's heart?

IF

* Sprung from, &c.) His greatneſs to himſelf he owes,
Nor borrows luſtre but beſtows.
Woffington's Pet. to the D. of Dorſet.

This petition was at that time univerſally believed to be written by our preſent Provoſt, who, it was well known, then lived in the cloſeſt intimacy with Mrs. Woffington.

N. B. At this hour the chief ornaments in the Provoſt's houſe are portraits of that celebrated courtezan in various characters and attitudes.

† To ſtrut, &c.)——————A poor player,
That ſtruts and frets his hour upon the ſtage,
And then is heard no more.
Shakeſpeare.

If, from the realms of fainted reſt,
Where calm he ſleeps on Honour's breaſt,
Wolfe's mighty ſpirit——at that name
Thy cheek bears record of thy ſhame,
‖ Thy coward lips their colour fly,
And guilt yet trembles in thine eye——
If from that * undiſcovered bourne
Wolfe's mighty ſpirit ſhould return,
With honeſt freedom, bold and true,
Unmaſk thee to the publick view,
Diſcloſe thy bearing on that day,
(A day ſtill mark'd by Britiſh ſighs)
When glory led her hero's way
And ſeal'd his paſſport to the ſkies;
A day, which through revolving years
Shall claim the triumph of our tears:
Tell how you ſtrove, with heart malign,
To counterwork the great deſign;
† And, with irreverent hand, when dead,
To tear the laurel from his head;

If

‖ Thy coward, &c.) His coward lips did from their colour fly, Shakeſpeare.

* ——————That undiſcover'd country, from whoſe bourne
No traveller returns. Ib.

† The name of Wolfe is but once (and then very ſlightly) mentioned in the celebrated letter of the 20th of September, 1759, on the reduction of Quebec; and an event which called tears from a Monarch's eyes, which

three

If yet thou feel'ſt like other men,
Say, what would be thy feelings then?
Would'ſt thou not curſe the day, the hour,
When firſt you woo'd the phantom pow'r,
(That meteor-fire, " whoſe gariſh" ray
Too oft but glitters to betray)
And left, for fame's fantaſtic chace,
The boſom of domeſtick peace?
Would'ſt thou not curſe the empty pride,
Since heaven the talents had denied?
Would'ſt thou not wiſh thy humbler lot
Had plac'd thee in the ſhelter'd cot,
There, from thoſe ſqualls of paſſion free,
That vex the world's tempeſtuous ſea,
To ſteal through life unmarked, unknown,
Sweet health and chearfulneſs thy own?
Or, rather, ſince ſupremely wiſe
Nature's fix'd law the wiſh denies,
And, down time's rapid current borne,
The hours once paſt no more return,
Would'ſt thou not then, in grief of heart,
Forgetting pride, diſclaiming art,

Bid

three kingdoms lamented, and which might naturally be ſuppoſed to awaken in the breaſt of a brother-ſoldier ſome generous ſenſibility, and animate his narration, is paſſed over in this cold, phlegmatick, and unaffecting manner, " This, Sir, was the ſituation of things, when, I was told, " in the action, that I commanded."

Brigadier General Townſhend's letter to Mr. Pitt.

Bid mountains fall to hide thy ſhame,
And dark oblivion ſhroud thy name?

ILLUSIONS vain!—Tho' Townſhend calls,
Nor darkneſs comes, nor mountain falls,
Still faithful to her taſk, the Muſe
With watchful eye thy walk purſues;
Hangs thee aloft to publick ſcorn,
The curſe of ages yet unborn;
With Stafford's rolls thy hated name,
And * damns thee to eternal fame.

HERE, with your favour, for this time,
Cloſe we the epiſtolary rhyme:——
Yet hold—at firſt, more kind than wiſe,
'Tis true I promis'd to adviſe;
Your ſoft, complying diſpoſition
Perhaps would pardon the omiſſion;
But, though a lie may grace a Lord,
A Poet's is a ſacred word:——
Yet, on reflection, to what end
Adviſe, when no advice can mend?
Poor is the harveſt of his toil:
Who cultivates a barren ſoil,
And he, who works upon thy brains,
Shall reap his labour for his pains:——
All thankleſs though the office, yet
On me I hold it for a debt;

Let

* —See Cromwell damn'd to everlaſting fame.
Pope.

Let then the Muſe, kind though ſevere,
Offer her counſel to your ear:
No longer anxious for your fame,
Your ſafety now is all her aim;
That, friends and foes alike declare,
Is ever preſent to your care;
Dead to each finer feeling grown,
There are you ſenſible alone,
And, " † tremblingly alive all o'er,"
For that you feel " at every pore."

WHILE then, yet patient of her woe,
A nation's wrath ſuſpends the blow,
Ere burſts the thunder on thy head,
And the rous'd vengeance dooms thee dead,
O with the rapid ſpeed of light
Far hence direct thy inſtant flight,
Where conſcious guilt with Holland hides,
A people's rage where Bute derides——
Fly from the ſtorm you dare not face,
And quit a ſtation you diſgrace.

† ——— Trembl'ngly alive all o'er,
To ſmart and agonize at every pore. Pope.

LETTER

LETTER XXXIX.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.

SIR, *Nov.* 1, 1772.

AN elaborate treatiſe (a) has been lately publiſhed to prove that the Carthaginians ſpoke very good Iriſh. From the 10th Ode of the firſt book of Horace, it is I think *equally clear* that Hoey's Mercury was very well known at Rome, and that the great Lyrick Poet in the compoſition of the above-mentioned Ode had certainly Mr. Jeoffry Wagſtaffe in his eye.——For the ſatisfaction of the curious I have thrown it into an Engliſh form.

I am, Sir,

Your humble Servant,

AN ANTIQUARIAN.

(a) An Eſſay on the Antiquity of the Iriſh Language, by Major Vallancy.

HOR-

HOR. LIB. I. ODE 10.

AD MERCURIUM.

MERCURI facunde, nepos Atlantis,
Qui feros cultus hominum recentum
Voce formasti catus, et decoræ
More palæstræ.

Te canam, magni Jovis et Deorum
Nuncium, curvæque lyræ parentem:
Callidum, quicquid placuit, jocoso
Condere furto.

Te boves olim nisi reddidisses
Per dolum amotas, puerum minaci
Voce dum terret, viduus pharetrâ
Risit Apollo.

Quin et Atridas, duce te, superbos
Ilio, dives Priamus, relicto,
Thessalosque ignes et iniqua Trojæ
Castra fefellit.

Tu pias lætis animas reponis
Sedibus; virgâque levem coerces
Aurea turbam, superis deorum
Gratus et imis.

HORACE. BOOK I. ODE 10.

IMITATED.

TO THE WRITERS FOR THE MERCURY. (b)

(c) WAGSTAFFE I ſing, notorious name!
Second to Tory Mist (d) in fame,
Who deems all honeſt men fair game,
(e) And *ſcalping*, lawful plunder:

Ready with quips and wanton wile
Each new-fledg'd patriot to revile,
At uncorrupted worth to ſmile,
Or thrice a week to thunder:

SANCHO's

(b) A news-paper publiſhed three times a week by one Hoey, a popiſh printer, in which, during the adminiſtration of Lord Townſhend in Ireland, an eſſay in defence of his meaſures was regularly inſerted under the title of *The Batchelor, or Speculations of Jeoffry Wagſtaffe*—for which his Excellency very generouſly paid him out of the publick money--by ordering all the State Proclamations to be inſerted in his paper.

(c) This imitation is not given as it was originally publiſhed; but the alterations were communicated to the anthor.

(d) An anti-conſtitution news-writer in the time of Sir Robert Walpole.

(e) *Wagſtaffe, it is imagined*, learned this *poliſhed* method of attacking the friends of the people, from Sancho, or his Canadian friend.

SANCHO's gazette, the Caſtle cryer,
Parent of Slander's crooked lyre,
The living and the dead conſpire
To grace thy pilfer'd eſſays;

Of inference falſe, and truiſms clear,
With ſtol'n conceits, and awkward leer,
And ſtill a *ſimile* in rear,
The heterogeneous meſs is. (f)

You robb'd Sir Lucius of renown,
(When ev'ry brewer in the town (g)
His head with laurels wiſhed to crown)
Nor ſtopped there, ſlily cruel;
But

(f) See the Batchelor paſſim.

(g) A regulation with reſpect to the exciſe gallon was propoſed about two years ago by Sir Lucius O'B——n, and adopted by the Houſe of Commons.—It proved very beneficial to the Brewers——By an alteration made the laſt Seſſion of Parliament in the duty on Rum, which was likewiſe propoſed by the ſame gentleman, the Revenue, it is ſaid, will this year riſe 50,000l. Yet in the *Select Eſſays from the Batchelor*, p. 310, the merit of this act, of the tax on abſentees, the Privilege Bill, and the Octennial Law, (meaſures in which Lord Townſhend had juſt as much concern as Mr. Howard or Alderman Faulkner) is very gravely aſcribed to his Excellency.—To eſtabliſh the character of his patron, and to redeem the infamy of a five-years-adminiſtration, his panegyriſt is reduced to the miſerable neceſſity of attributing to him inſtitutions and laws, the greater part of which he knew nothing of till they had paſſed through the Houſe of Commons,

and

But to your patron his Rum-Bill
You gave; he ſmiled, and ſwore your ſkill
Was ſuch, you could convert at will
Strong beer to water-gruel.
While all the Combe and Poddle ſleep, (h)
Guarded by thee, ſee SANCHO creep,
Preferring even the wintry deep
To politicks and ſquabble;
To Bullock (i) the mock-monarch flees,
In ev'ry buſh a dagger ſees,
But ſafe beneath thy auſpices
Eſcapes the indignant rabble.

'Tis and the moſt important of which he had always publickly diſclaimed and ridiculed: and which all together, if they even had been ſuggeſted by him, or met with his co-operation, would have borne the ſame proportion to his *demerits* with reſpect to this country, that a drop of water does to the ocean.

(h) Two ſtreets in Dublin inhabited entirely by manufacturers.

(i) An obſcure place on the ſea-coaſt (in the neighbourhood of Rockfield, a villa of Lord Townſhend's) where, when theſe lines were firſt publiſhed, it was conjectured, from his love of *privacy*, and averſion to all kind of *oſtentation*, he would have embarked for England——But the night before his departure, having employed the fidus Achates, his companion and panegyriſt, to hire a mob in the city, he, the next day, *ventured* to proceed publickly through the ſtreets; and being accompanied by Lord Harcourt, eſcorted by the military, and protected by the ruffians whom he had paid to huzza him, he got to the water-ſide, without any *conſiderable* indignity being offered him. For a more particular account of the circumſtances attending his *retreat*, ſee Letter 41.

'Tis thine the obſequious drudge to grace,
And each implicit ſcoundrel place
In ſome contaminated ſpace
Of bluſhing HONOUR's portal:

To thoſe who doubt quite plump to go
Preferment's golden hopes you ſhew,
And Devils of all ſorts, high and low, (k)
Wiſh thee, dear Wag, immortal.

(k) His Majeſty's Devil, and the Devils of the preſs. —— *Diabolus regis* was the antient title of the Attorney-General—*Quantum mutatus!*

LETTER

LETTER XL.

Le bon temps viendra. ENG. PEERAGE.

TO THE EARL OF HARCOURT.

MY LORD, *Nov.* 14, 1772.

THE ſtate of this country, and the ill advice, as repreſentative of the King, you are ſure to be expoſed to, juſtify an early addreſs on the part of the publick; more ſincere than the accents with which the parliament, the city, and the poet, receive you, it ſhall not be leſs decent, leſs full of ardent hopes, of favourable impreſſions. We ſalute you with that credulous cordiality, that open hoſpitality, and all thoſe lively expectations, peculiar to a generous and a ſanguine people. At the departure of the late viceroy we feel an alacrity, the effect of relief; and inferring from the phyſical to the political climate, after ſuch tempeſts we hope that better days will ſucceed.

WE know you bring with you a decorum and ſplendor long forgotten in this country; and we believe you add qualities which are ſubſtantial.

No people are more addicted to their Chief Governor, until by his conduct, he corrects every tendency

tendency in his favour, and deſtroys the faintest ſuppoſition of his virtue.

You come among us in times that are critical, but not difficult; you aſcend the Iriſh throne in the day of its unpopularity and degradation, with powers, and, we preſume, with wiſhes, to raiſe it above its preſent condition; fraud, perfidy, and profuſion. There is no royal diſeaſe, we conceive, in that ſeat which once was honourable, communicated from viceroy to viceroy, in a courſe of infected ſucceſſion.

You muſt have been already informed that the power of this country was formerly in a few natives. Government diſliked this ſyſtem, becauſe theſe men ſometimes oppoſed; and the nation diſliked it, becauſe they generally complied with the miniſter: we thought it dangerous to collect the being of the people to the point of a life-blood, not always protected by virtue. The ſcheme of Government ſhould have been rather to weaken than deſtroy a natural influence; and on that principle, Government would have found ſupport. The Viceroy ſhould have enlarged the baſis of adminiſtration, and, in oppoſition to an oligarchy, ſhould have ſtood on popular affection. Time, the friend of power, a reſident influence, whoſe operation is conſtant, and the leaning of this country to Adminiſtration, would have ſafely eſtabliſhed the deſired revolution: *revolution*, which ſhould ſteal upon a nation, never alarm it.

A DIFFERENT ſyſtem was purſued. The Chief Governour began his attack upon the power of the Oligarchy by an inſult on their perſons, not conſidering that, although their power ought to have been impaired, their perſons were to be reſpected. Inſtead of reſting adminiſtration on the nation in general, he detached the nation from his miniſtry by an idle conteſt, almoſt in the commencement of his authority; and placed the Oligarchy on the very ground on which he ſhould have placed himſelf: making them, not the heads of a faction, but the leaders of the people.

THERE was no idea of ſecuring, or ſoftening, or detaching, by addreſs, by moderation, or a faint example of better government. To diſcredit the eſtabliſhed influence of others, was the object of the Viceroy; for this, the power of the Crown was ineffectually and diſhonourably abuſed: difficulties, which aroſe from indiſcretion, were encountered by profuſion; profuſion created new difficulties, to be withſtood by new extravagance.

A WANTON increaſe of nominal employments, and real ſinecures—engagements diſhonourable if they are kept, and diſhonourable if they are violated—a ſwarm of dependants unfit for any ſtation, introduced into the high ſtation of parliament—— were the happy reſources of a Government, that was to reconcile to innovation, and purpoſed to *repoſe* in this country.

THUS

THUS the new ſyſtem, which was to fall upon this country like manna from above, ſhook the realm. The queſtion was no more whether an Engliſh Adminiſtration, or an Iriſh Oligarchy, ſhould prevail; the queſtion was now, whether Ireland, in days of peace and poverty, ſhould pay for the continuance of a fatal government, and for the ſupport of every project of corruption, by the impoſition of a land-tax.

THUS, my Lord, were we taught to look back with affection at our old Oligarchy. The ſcheme of politicks, however narrowed, was not *then* a Job with every perſon who wore the livery of the court; the wealth of the nation was not *then* devoted to every purpoſe, except the exigencies of the kingdom and the ſplendour of the Crown; the country was not then laid under contribution to ſupport the idle and griping train of the revenue; the nation was not *then* a waſted field of battle, where the Viceroy conſulted victory, and not government.

IT was unfortunate for this country that the man appointed to unite to Adminiſtration all the branches of power, was the moſt diſtinguiſhed for his averſion to buſineſs. The ſceptre fell among his domeſtics, who became miniſters to him, and incumbrances to us. Thus the indolence of the executive power became a rent-charge upon the nation.

I HAVE described the event of this ſyſtem in general terms; I will not tire your patience by entering into the detail of meaſures, about which there is little doubt, either to their exiſtence, or impropriety; but this, my Lord, I will ſay, that when you come among us, you will ſee the fouleſt policy that ever took the name of government. Viceroys, who have hitherto preſided in this country, ſubmitted upon every occaſion to every miniſter, becauſe their natural ſituation was below their elevation, and they ſtood upon a fearful precipice, from whence they trembled to fall; but the terms on which you will receive and preſerve the favours of your Sovereign will not be unworthy: for you, my Lord, can command favours.

AN accompliſhed Peer of England, full of age and honours, will not forfeit the maturity of his good name for an office, little to his fortune, nothing to his glory, and by no means flattering to the tranquility of his diſpoſition. Speaking from the throne, he will obſerve *truth*; and contributing to any popular meaſure, conſiſtency; his douceurs will be without treachery, his engagements without falſehood. He will not bring along with him to a plundered country, an hungry *following*, but rather Amalthea's horn; and ſcatter the novelty of proſperity among us. In the diſtribution of bounty he will remember, that the money he gives is not his own, and he will ſhew that vice is, at leaſt, not his object; his penſions and places will not ſcanda-

lize

lize his royal maſter, nor put a publick mark on the worthleſſneſs of the receiver. My Lord, you are to reſide among us; and if you are not to ſhare our proſperity or diſtreſſes, you will however enjoy, by publick obſervations on your conduct, the full fame of your adminiſtration. An evaneſcent harpy of the Crown will have no ſcruples; but the gentleman who means to live in the midſt of his tenantry, no doubt, will be a gracious landlord. A reſident Chief Governour labours under a difficulty unknown to ſome Viceroys, and little conſidered by the laſt. He is apt to become too jocular a fellow, and to forget the dignity of his office in the levity of his perſon; the delegated crown is too great a weight to be long ſuſtained by every ſubject. We have ſeen the paltry actor ſink into himſelf, before the royal mantle was laid aſide, and the tragedy of his government concluded.

As to Lord Townſhend I ſhall ſay little of him. His ſpirit, his decorum, his miniſtry, his manners, all have been diſcuſſed, not much to his honour, ſtill leſs to his reformation. Fortune raiſed this man to a ridiculous viſibility, where the extravagant genius of his character fatally diſplayed itſelf. At one time he would elope from his office, and no man could ſay where the *delegated crown* had hid itſelf; at another time buſineſs muſt follow him from haunt to haunt, and detect him with the moſt diſgraceful company, in the moſt diſgraceful intimacy. The old ſervants of the court accuſ-

tomed to the regularity of former times, looked up with aſtoniſhment to a comet that ſeemed to have broken from one ſphere, to introduce confuſion into another.—With reſpect to his friendſhips, it was impoſſible to ſay whom he loved, and not eaſy to determine whether he loved any one; as to bounty, the favour was cancelled before it was conferred, and the object of it hated for ever. It is not ſtrange that ſuch a character ſhould exiſt; but it is very ſtrange, that in ſuch a character there ſhould be parts and genius: a momentary ray, which, like a faint, wintry beam, ſhot and vaniſhed. He had even ſtarts of good feeling alſo, abſorbed in a moment in the hurricane of his boſom, as his parts were loſt in the clouds of his underſtanding. I ſpeak of his foibles; as to his vices I ſhall not dwell upon them.—We ſaw this man arrayed like Majeſty, and felt indignation; we ſee him now deſcend from the throne, and are aſhamed that he was ever an object of ſerious reſentment. We leave him to the vacancy of a mind ill-ſuited to retreat, and now accuſtomed to the farce of ſtate, and the blunder of buſineſs. We leave him to a country that his talents will never injure——to an office which we wiſh he may diſcharge better—and to a large patronage, from which we hope he may not derive a multitude of enemies.

PERICLES.

LETTER

LETTER XLI.

Jacet ille nunc, proſtratuſque eſt, Quirites, et ſe perculſum, atque abjectum eſſe ſentit; et retorquet oculos profecte ſæpe ad hanc urbem, quam ex ſuis faucibus ereptam eſſe luget: quæ quidem lætari mihi videtur, quod tantam peſtem evomuerit, foraſque projecerit.

CIC.

TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

MY LORD, *Dec.* 8, 1772.

AFTER all the chances and changes of your political life, you have at length *eſcaped* to Holyhead. That theatre of modern chivalry, opened its arms, no doubt, to the ſucceſſor of Wolfe. Alexander viſited the tomb of Achilles, and an old field of battle has always arreſted the notice of a military genius. In the ſame ſpirit, I ſuppoſe your Lordſhip will reconnoitre all the ſtations of combat in that celebrated ſpot, and examine every rock at which that gun-powder Galway-man, Mr. Blake, diſcharged a piſtol, in his morning exerciſe, upon a late excurſion. Like Scipio too, you may occupy yourſelf a while in the innocent recreation of collecting pebbles on the ſhore; not forgetting that the meaneſt and baſeſt of the Roman governours did the ſame; that he brought back ſome cockle-ſhells to the Capitol, as trophies of his ſucceſs; and claimed, and obtained

a triumph, for having extended the empire of Rome. The ceremony of a triumph indeed is out of date, my Lord: the Ordnance and a Marquiſate muſt ſuffice you.

By command of your Sovereign you remained in Ireland, till you were publickly ſtripped of your temporary diſtinction, and ordered *to return to the place from whence you came:* but you could ſcarce bring yourſelf to comply with the ſentence: you lingered, like a diſcontented ſpirit, and hovered over the grave of your former dignity. Your friends boaſted, that if you could not, like Fabius, retrieve the ſtate, you would give a ſpecimen of your valour by *delay*. How did the experiment anſwer? It is true, that now and then, with nerves unſtrung, and with a countenance that more than inſinuated embarraſſment, you ſallied into the ſtreets; but your flights were ſhort, and your ſeaſon *twilight*.—An opportunity which a brave, but *blemiſhed*, ſoldier would have ſolicited, offered itſelf to you. Inſtead of ſeizing the armour of valour, you forgot, in your diſturbance, the *refuge* of ſtation. Day after day, your door was *dunned* by Mr. Lowther, on behalf of his friend* ; like an importunate creditor, he grew clamorous at length: by accident you became viſible to him; but, a bankrupt in honour, inſtead of *diſcharging*, you *compounded the debt*.

THE

* The Right Honourable Robert Rochfort, from whom Mr. Lowther carried a challenge to Lord Townſhend, about a fortnight before his departure from Ireland.

THE new Viceroy declared, that whilſt you continued in Ireland you were to be his gueſt: he, therefore ſtopped the circulation of publick dinners, which are a matter of *precedent*, on the arrival of a Lord Lieutenant. To pay a greater compliment, by a further accommodation to your Lordſhip's genius, he proclaimed an *armiſtice* of buſineſs. There could not be a more decent exhortation to you to depart. But Candy's Chop-houſe, and the gratuitous hotel of Mr. Montgomery, ſtood in your way. From the intenſeneſs of your diſſipation, a ſtranger might have thought that you were indemnifying yourſelf in ſome ſort for a former contraſt of toil and induſtry; but the people of Ireland were not to be ſo deceived; they did not wonder that you ſhould continue to *impede* the national buſineſs, which you had ſo long *diſgraced* and *confounded*. The charms of the Miſs M—ntg——ys might have attracted the honourable attention of the moſt elegant nature; but yours, my lord, was out of their reach. An eleemoſynary bottle with their chearful father, a little time to negociate away an altercation or two, together with the dear delight of playing at *hide and ſeek* with the expectations of the publick, and of doing every thing but what you ought to do, were the principle of your ſtay. The army were ordered out every day to eſcort you, and ſometimes more than once. All was uncertainty, and the citizens were at a loſs when your Lordſhip would require their attendance. You never appeared a greater general, my Lord, than in this inſtance; you effectually haraſſed your enemy,—*the people*.

In the prime and ſtrength of your government, you affected to deſpiſe the moſt reſpectable popularity; but when the period of its expiration drew near, you grew ſolicitous for the *hired* huzza of the loweſt of the rabble; a ſort of death-bed repentance, my lord, which can operate little to your political ſalvation: the fickly ſuffrage of a mercecenary mob is not the voice of heaven. But by a fatality peculiar to the contrivances of your Lordſhip, even their miſerable cry, for once, became the vehicle of truth: for after all the farcical preparation of the matter, by your city agitators, the ſalutation, which you purchaſed, proved but a *ſhout for your departure.*

But if the preſence of the new Chief Governour, who accompanied you to your ſhip, and of whom the publick have favourable hopes—if the threats of intimated vengeance—if the terror of a military power—if the vileneſs of bribes operating upon the hunger of neceſſitous miſcreants—if any, or all of theſe, had ſtifled publick imprecation for a moment, or procured for your Lordſhip the echo of a counterfeited applauſe, you muſt confeſs it would be no proof of your merit, however it might be an aggravation of your guilt. Verres, the perſecutor of Sicily had publick thanks decreed, and publick ſtatues erected to his honour, by the cities which he had plundered, and which afterwards impeached him. Thanks to the dignity of my countrymen, in their collective capacity, you have no ſuch ſcandalous compliance to boaſt. They have no inconſiſtency, no ingratitude to you, in their way. Their

juſtice

juſtice may properly overtake your crimes, for their wants rejected your charity *. But though they ſhould abandon your perſon *to your own care*, your name at leaſt they will brand, and your image they have already brought to a publick and ignominious execution. Æneas ſighed when, turning towards Carthage, he ſaw from ſhipboard the flames of the funeral pile of Dido. His heart gave intimation of the diſaſter which had befallen. Did any ſimilar miſgiving vibrate at your Lordſhip's breaſt, or did a ſympathetick preſage melt you into tears, when, looking to the ſhore, you beheld from deck, the conflagration of your Effigy? The whole town, with countenances expreſſive of peculiar gratification, beheld the ſpectacle of your Lordſhip in proceſſion. Even in your *natural* perſon you never thridded ſo many paſſages, nor alleys, nor explored ſo many nooks and receſſes of the metropolis, as you did *in that your counterfeit preſentment*, during this ſolemnity. Had your friend, the late Lord Mayor, preſided over the pomp, you could not have perambulated the city more completely.

At length, however, you have made your ever memorable retreat, not indeed like Xenophon with the ten thouſand Greeks, but—like yourſelf, with Courtney, and with Frazer. Is it not ſtrange that whereſoever we ſurvey you, whether in your ſtay or your departure, in the camp or cabinet, in your own character, or in any which you aſſume, you ſhould ſtill preſent us with ſome perverſe incongruity, ſome contemptible caprice, or ſome indignity

* See the Appendix, No. 5.

dignity not to be paralleled? Go then, thou wretched commander, and thou ſtill more miſerable viceroy, go then, thou unworthy man, bury thyſelf, if thou can'ſt, in oblivion. If thou can'ſt be conſiſtent in any thing, be ſo in that deſpicable buffoonery, in which alone thou can'ſt be eminent. Be uniform in that, for it may ſhut out reflection, which, if it comes, muſt come with ſcorpions to thee. Thou haſt the violation of the entruſted rights of a nation to anſwer for.——Heaven and earth condemn thee.—What muſt be thy portion?

FABRICIUS.

LETTER XLII.

Sic qui promittit, cives, urbem ſibi curæ,
Imperium fore, et Italiam, et delubra Deorum,
Quo patre ſit natus, num ignota matre inhoneſtus,
Omnes mortales curare, et quærere cogit. HOR.

TO THE EDITOR OF BARATARIANA.

SIR, *Dec.* 31, 1772.

AMONG the manuſcripts in St. Patrick's library, in which there are many curious pieces of antiquity, I happened, a few days ago, to find a character of Sancho II. Governour of Barataria, drawn by the pen of a contemporary hiſtorian, which I communicate to you for the inſtruction of his ſucceſſors.

PLUTARCHUS BARATARIANUS.

SANCHO,

SANCHO, the Governour of Barataria, was descended from a noble house in Spain. But even the omnipotence of Majesty can transmit to posterity no more of *honour*, than that which is merely *titular*. *Sancho* was not the name which he derived from his *family*; neither was it that which was conferred on him by his *baptism*; but it was a title of extravagant and unsuitable elevation, furnished by a romance, and stamped upon him by the unanimous voice of the Baratarians, from the prepostrous incongruity which they observed between his station and character—his person and profession—his duty and demeanour—when they saw the gravity of government guided by the levity of a ridiculous buffoon, and the *sober* concerns of a great nation resigned to the guardianship of an half-witted Bacchanalian.—The aptness of the title was the cause of its universality; and as by the exploits of his folly he departed from the name, so by the degeneracy of his nature did he extinguish the lustre of his family. His father indeed was a person of figure and high reputation in Spain; but he had another parental example before him—that of his mother; which the natural impulse of his mind led him to emulate. The whimsical licentiousness of the one was preferred to the regular dignity, and honourable deportment of the other.——And, indeed, from the first moment in which the mind of Sancho assumed the powers of selection, it was employed in chusing that which was most unfitting for him——Thus he became a soldier without fortitude, or generosity; a statesman

man without wiſdom or ſobriety——Thus he was amorous without tenderneſs, and affected ſociability without temper, or good manners.—Into high life did he carry all the degradations of a degenerate mind, and mixed in humble condition the arrogance of exalted ſtation. His arrogance, however, was not above *familiarity*. It accompanied him through the ſtreets of the city, with the vileſt aſſociates; and he affected a freedom of carriage with the loweſt of the Community, who would accept it, under the title of grace and condeſcenſion—And yet, though he was too mean for dignity, he was too inſolent for equal ſociety. Of that inſolence, indeed, he had frequent occaſion to repent; for it led him into many embarraſſing ſituations, from which he ſeldom extricated himſelf, without ſome mortification, or diſgrace.

For ſome years he paſſed through life under the protection of contemptible talents;——and was thought to be *inoffenſive*, becauſe he wanted *wiſdom*.——But he was a ſingular inſtance of a man's mixing malevolence with levity, and dedicating even his *ſmiles* to the injury of his companions. His friends, (or thoſe whom ſervice had retained as his panegyriſts, and who praiſed for ſubſiſtence) affirm, "*that taken unawares, in the ſudden moment of ſurpriſe, he has been hurried into acts of kindneſs, and beneficence.*"——But it is as certain, that he has repented him of them ſpeedily, and diſclaimed them. And it was the univerſal opinion, that ſo ſoon as the fury of paſſion, or the ſurpriſe of commiſeration, had paſſed away,—when cool reflecti-

on,

on, and native ſentiment, reaſſumed the empire of his mind, the reſult was injury, injuſtice, and oppreſſion.——And indeed to the honour of human kind, we muſt admit, that Sancho was the only perſon who had fallen within our experience, whoſe *ſudden extravagance of paſſion* was the peculiar article, with which the partiality of friends would clothe him, when they wiſhed to exhibit him to publick view. The crimes of moſt men are excuſed, or palliated, by thoughtleſſneſs, ſurpriſe, temptation, or intemperance.—Sancho's alone were enormous in proportion as time, and deliberation, had leiſure to digeſt them.

WHENEVER the wantonneſs of that Fortune, which placed power in his hands, furniſhed him with the means of injury, he did not raſhly diſcharge the raptures of malevolence, but held them long before his eyes, as a reverſionary felicity, which he rather wiſhed to hoard than diſſipate.—He *dallyed*, and *played* with vengeance.——He thought it a morſel too delicious for immediate conſumption, and reſerved it to crown and conclude the luxury of the banquet.

FORTUNE, however, with all her favours, was not his *real* friend.——If ſhe raiſed him to *high ſtation*, ſhe raiſed him to publick obſervation.——Had ſhe not made him a *General*, the *whole* world had not known, that he wanted every qualification of a ſoldier; that he was only capable of warring with the *dead*, and plundering deceaſed heroiſm of thoſe laurels which himſelf could not wear.—Had ſhe not made him the Repreſentative of Majeſty,

jesty, a *few* only would have known, that he wanted wisdom, moderation, sobriety, and decorum;—that his principles were not founded in justice, and that they were subversive of freedom;—that the only things he had ever learned in camps, he brought with him into the cabinet,—*arbitrary law*, and *military government*.

His politicks, as Governour, were perpetually the result of his own humour, and his humour was rashness, resentment, and caprice.——In the wide rotation of his inconstancy, he has placed his confidence, *by turns*, on every branch of his household. He has counselled upon the mysteries of state with every *life-guard man* in his train, and made his Stables his Council-chamber as he once made his Council-chamber his kennel *.——If he ever assumed gravity of discourse, it was applied to playfulness, or childhood; and his jokes and good-humour were the wages of his lackeys.

Here we shall repose the character of this extraordinary person.—If the ferment of the times ever tended to exaggerate the features—let it be remembered, that *he* was the author of those ferments; that national calamities, it is true, are severe commentators on the conduct of *him*, who has produced them; and that he, who has stimulated a brave people by his oppressions, deserves to feel the lash of their sensibility.

* Alluding to the remarkable story of his introducing his fox-hounds into the Council-Chamber, whilst the Council were in debate.—See page 203.

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

NUMBER I.

Dies Veneris, Dec. 22, 1769.

A MOTION being made, that the Speaker of this Houſe be deſired to direct, that no proteſt of any perſon whomſoever, who is not a Lord of parliament, and a member of this houſe, and which doth not reſpect a matter which hath been previouſly in queſtion before this houſe, and wherein the Lord proteſting had taken part with the minority either in perſon or by proxy, be entered on the journals of this houſe.

And a debate ariſing thereupon, the queſtion was put, and the houſe divided.

It paſſed in the negative.

DISSENTIENT,

1ſt. Becauſe, we conceive that it is the ſole and excluſive right and privilege of a Lord of parliament, and member of this houſe, to have his proteſt entered on the journals of this houſe; and

that

that even a Lord of parliament and member of this houſe cannot have his proteſt ſo entered except upon a matter previouſly in queſtion before this houſe, wherein the Lord proteſting took part with the minority, either in perſon or by proxy.

2dly, Becauſe we conceive that this regulation of the privilege of proteſting, ſtands upon the ſame principle, in conſequence of which, this privilege hath obtained among the Lords, and not among the repreſentatives of the people. The latter we apprehend, are conſidered by the conſtitution as actuated and juſtified by the ſentiments of thoſe whom they repreſent. Whereas the Lords who act not as deputies, but in their own right, are perſonally reſponſible for their conduct to poſterity. The practice of a permanent juſtification, alſo, ſeems to have been deemed a more neceſſary guard upon a body whoſe power was permanent. Hence we conceive the privilege of proteſting aroſe, that the Lord, againſt whom the majority had declared, might have an opportunity of vindicating himſelf to future times; which the original cuſtom of inſerting the names of each Lord on the journals, with the part he had taken in the queſtion, rendered more neceſſary. And we therefore apprehend, as it would be abſurd for a Lord to juſtify his conduct, where he had not acted, that the privilege of proteſting hath been, by reaſon, as well as practice, confined in caſes, in which the Lord proteſting had taken a part, and in which, upon queſtion, the majority had been of a different opinion.

3dly,

3dly, Becauſe we conceive that the Earl of Strafford, who firſt attempted, and that but in a ſingle inſtance, to enter his proteſt, as chief governour, upon the journals of this houſe, was a perſon of ſuch an arbitrary ſpirit, and the times in which he lived, of ſo bad example, and his ſaid proteſt ſo informal, and faulty in itſelf, that ſuch his proceeding ought not to be conſidered as a precedent.

4thly, Becauſe, we apprehend that the only ſubſequent inſtance,* to wit, the proteſt of Lord Sydney,—which was made in heat, by that governour, whoſe conduct was diſapproved, on his recall to England, which ſoon followed, and founded upon the ſame example, which ought not to have been imitated—was ſtill more irregular and improper; inaſmuch, as it related to a matter which had never been before this houſe, and reſpected the privileges and proceedings of the other houſe of parliament.

5thly, Becauſe we conceive it to be peculiarly neceſſary at this time, to expreſs our ſentiments upon this ſubject, when we have reaſon to apprehend, that

* N. B. The prorogation of Lord Sydney was not in conſequence of orders received from England, as there was not time between the rejection of the Privy-Council Money-bill, and the prorogation, for any ſuch orders to have been had; the true reaſon was, that his Lordſhip expected to have been called to account, by the then houſe of Commons, for the having fraudulently taken poſſeſſion of the eſtate of Lord Tyrconnel.

that it is intended, that a proteſt ſhall be entered upon the journals of this houſe, relative to the proceedings and privileges of the other houſe of parliament, in imitation of the laſt mentioned proteſt.

6thly, Becauſe we apprehend that we ought not to ſuffer this diſtinguiſhed privilege of the Lords to be invaded or aſſumed by any perſon, in whatever ſtation, and that we ought particularly to reſiſt any ſuch attempt, when it may be thought to involve a breach of the privileges of the other houſe of parliament alſo, and may therefore be productive of diſſention between the two houſes.

LOWTH,
CHARLEMONT,
POWERSCOURT,
MOUNTMORRES,
LONGFORD.

On Friday the 22d of December, the above proteſt was entered ;—notwithſtanding which, on the Tueſday following, the Lord Lieutenant went down to the houſe of Lords, and entered a proteſt upon the Lords journals, againſt the proceeding of the Commons, in rejecting the Privy-Council Money-bill, and alledging their reaſon for ſo doing. The houſe of Commons gave orders to their clerk, that the Lord Lieutenant's ſpeech or proteſt ſhould not be entered upon their journals.

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APPENDIX.

NUMBER II.

Dies Lunæ, 4 Martis, 1771.

A motion being made that the paragraph in the Addreſs of the King, returning thanks to his Majeſty for continuing Lord Townſhend in the government of Ireland, be omitted—it paſſed in the negative.

DISSENTIENT.

1ſt. BECAUSE the repeated proofs we have had of his Majeſty's paternal tenderneſs towards his people convince us, that a miſrepreſentation of his faithful commons could alone have determined his royal breaſt to exert his undoubted prerogative of proroguing his parliament, at a criſis, when the expiration of laws, eſſential to the well being of this kingdom, peculiarly ſeemed to point out the moſt urgent demand for the aſſiſtance of the legiſlature; at a time, when the commons had given a recent, efficacious, teſtimony of their unremitted zeal for his Majeſty's ſervice, by voting an augmentation of his Majeſty's forces;—a meaſure which had been preſented to parliament as highly acceptable to the King; at a ſeaſon too when the ſuddenneſs of this unexpected mark of his royal diſpleaſure rendered its conſequences almoſt irretrievably fatal to the nation, inſomuch that we ſee with the deepeſt concern an extraordinary deficiency

ficiency in his Majeſty's revenue, proceeding from the declining ſtate of our credit, trade, and manufactures, thereby occaſioned.

2dly, Becauſe the undoubted confidence we repoſe in his Majeſty's inviolate regard to the fundamental principles of the conſtitution, aſſures us, that the attempt which has been lately made to infringe that balance indefeaſably inſeparable from its very formation, by entering upon the journals of this houſe a proteſt animadverting upon the proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, was the reſult of pernicious counſels, inſidiouſly calculated to alienate the affections of the moſt loyal ſubjects from the moſt amiable of Princes; an opinion in which we conceive ourſelves by ſo much the better founded, as this unconſtitutional extenſion is unprecedented ſave only in one inſtance, which was followed by the juſt diſapprobation of the ſovereign, teſtified by the immediate removal of the chief governor. We further conceive, that as the conſtitution of this kingdom is, in reſpect to the diſtinct departments of the Crown, the Lords, and the Commons, one and the ſame with that of *Great-Britain*, we ſhould depart not only from our duty to our King, and to this our country, but likewiſe from that regard which we owe to Great-Britain, if in our high capacity of hereditary great council of Ireland to the Crown, we ſhould acquieſce under an attempt which manifeſtly tends to ſubvert that reciprocal independence of the three eſtates, which is the baſis of its ſecurity.

3dly,

3dly, Becauſe the juſtice and piety which ſhine conſpicuous in our ſovereign, as well in his domeſtic life, as on the throne, do not ſuffer us to ſuppoſe, that the diſmiſſion of truſty nobles and commoners from his Majeſty's privy-council—the former only becauſe they made a juſt exerciſe of their hereditary birth right, as Peers of the realm, the latter on account of their parliamentary conduct,—can have proceeded from the truly inform'd intention of ſo great and good a prince.

4thly, Becauſe moderation, firmneſs, conſiſtency, a due diſtinctive regard to all ranks of perſons, a regular ſyſtem of adminiſtration, being as we perceive indiſpenſably requiſite to the ſupport and dignity of government, and to the conduct of his Majeſty's affairs; we cannot, without violation of truth and juſtice, return thanks to the King for continuing a chief governor, who in contempt of all forms of buſineſs, and rules of decency, heretofore reſpected by his predeceſſors, is actuated only by the moſt arbitrary caprice, to the detriment of his Majeſty's intereſts, to the injury of this oppreſſed country, and to the unſpeakable vexation of perſons of every condition.

LOWTH,	MOIRA,
LEINSTER,	MOLESWORTH,
WESTMEATH,	SHANNON,
LANESBOROUGH,	MORNINGTON,
POWERSCOURT,	BELLAMONT,
BECTIVE,	LONGFORD,
MOUNTCASHELL,	BALTINGLASS,
CHARLEMONT,	LISLE.

APPENDIX.

NUMBER III.

Dies Jovis, 7 Martis, 1771.

A motion being made that the Proteſt of Lord Townſhend entered upon the Journals of this Houſe on the 26th of December, 1769, be now expunged; it paſſed in the negative.

DISSENTIENT,

1ſt. BECAUSE we conceive that by the entering of the Lord Lieutenant's proteſt upon the Journals of this houſe, at the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion, the privileges of this houſe, and the conſtitutional rights of the peerage, have been moſt flagrantly infringed and violated, and that therefore the earlieſt opportunity ſhould be ſeized of vindicating the rights and privileges of the peerage, and of wiping away the affront which this houſe has received therein, by expunging from its Journals this matter of offence, which has been unwarrantably and illegally obtruded upon them.

2dly. Becauſe we conceive that the above-mentioned proteſt contains in it matter in the higheſt degree illegal and unconſtitutional, inſomuch as it claims a right, and preſumes, to animadvert upon ſome proceedings of the lower houſe of parliament; now we are bold to aſſert, that whenever any

one

one branch of the legiſlature ſhall arrogate a right to animadvert upon either of the other two branches, the branch of the legiſlature, ſo ſubject to animadverſion, would inſtantly ceaſe to be part of the ſupreme power, the balance of the conſtitution would be overturned, and that branch, in which this juriſdiction reſided would be compleatly ſovereign; a ſuppoſition which is equally abhorrent to the ſpirit, and to the letter, of the conſtitution.

3dly, Becauſe we conceive that this houſe hath, and ought to have, the ſole and excluſive dominion over its Jouruals, in like manner as the Commons have over theirs; and that the Lord Lieutenant hath no more right to order an entry to be made upon our Journals, than he hath to order an entry to be made in the Journals of the Commons; and we conceive, that as the Crown, though a branch of the legiſlature, is no *eſtate* of parliament, therefore the Crown or its repreſentatives can have no juriſdiction over the Journals of the eſtates of parliament; which are the records of the proceedings of the *deliberative* branches of the legiſlature, whereof the Crown is not one. And we are the more confirmed in this opinion, by reflecting, that there is not a ſingle inſtance, even in the moſt arbitrary times, of ſuch a power being claimed, or exerciſed, by the Crown of Great-Britain over the Journals of the Britiſh Peers. We apprehend alſo, that no matter can with propriety be entered upon the Journals of this houſe, without the leave of this

houſe previouſly had or implied, as is clearly evinced by the conſtant practice of reading the minutes by the Clerk before the houſe is adjourned, in order that every peer may have an opportunity of preventing any thing improper from being entered upon the Journals. Now, on the laſt day of the laſt ſeſſion, no ſuch opportunity was given, the reading of the minutes having been prevented by the prorogation.

4thly. Becauſe, though it hath been aſſerted that the Journals of this houſe being publick records, it is improper that any alteration ſhould be made therein, we are of opinion that this maxim extends only to the judicial proceedings of this houſe; not ſeeing, that in other inſtances there is any reaſon to diſtinguiſh between the Journals of this houſe and thoſe of the other houſe of parliament, from which matters have frequently been expunged; as it is alſo notorious that matters, *not of a judicial nature*, have frequently been expunged from the Journals of the houſe of Lords of Great-Britain.

Indeed, were it otherwiſe, the Speaker, or even the Clerk of this houſe, or any indifferent perſon, who might, however irregularly, get acceſs to the Journal Book, might inſert therein matter of the moſt criminal import, amounting even to the crime of treaſon; and it would be a ſtrange ſoleciſm to ſay, that ſuch inſertion muſt for ever remain to the diſgrace of this houſe, without any power in us to expunge and purge away ſuch obnoxious matter.

5thly.

5thly. Becauſe it hath been declared to be a high breach of the privileges of parliament, that the Crown ſhould take notice of the proceedings of either houſe of parliament, unleſs the ſame ſhall be regularly laid before it; a circumſtance in which we conceive, that the proteſt of Lord *Strafford*, however in all other reſpects irregular and unconſtitutional, hath the advantage of thoſe of Lord *Sydney*, and our preſent Chief Governor.

6thly. Becauſe we think this entry peculiarly improper, inaſmuch as the Viceroy hath therein by a breach of the privileges of this houſe, made our Journals the inſtrument of a breach of the privileges of the other houſe of parliament; a practice which, if not diſcountenanced by us, might probably end in a rupture between the two houſes.

LOWTH,
LEINSTER,
WESTMEATH,
LANESBOROUGH,
POWERSCOURT,
BECTIVE,
MOUNTCASHELL,
CHARLEMONT,
MOIRA,
MOLESWORTH,
SHANNON,
MORNINGTON,
BELLAMONT,
KNAPTON,
LONGFORD,
BALTINGLASS,
LISLE.

APPENDIX.

NUMBER IV.

Dies Mercurii, 18 *Decembris*, 1771.

A MOTION was made that an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, repreſenting that it is the opinion of this houſe, that the appointment which his Majeſty hath been adviſed to make of *five Members of Parliament*, to examine and paſs *certain* of the accounts of this kingdom, with the *Powers* ſpecified in his Majeſty's Letters, dated the thirty-firſt of October, 1771, (the preſent *circumſtances* of this country being conſidered) is *unneceſſary* and *inexpedient*, and praying that His Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to direct his *Attorney-General* to cauſe the *Legality* of the ſaid appointment to be *tried* according to *due courſe of law*.

It paſſed in the *negative*.

DISSENTIENT.

1ſt. BECAUSE we conceive that the appointment of five *new Commiſſioners* for examining and perfecting the *impreſted* or *extraordinary accounts* of this kingdom is *unneceſſary*—inaſmuch, as, the *antient* commiſſioners appear to have been deemed *ſufficient* for ſome *centuries paſt*; and to have been *ſo held* by his Majeſty's *miniſters* in *both* kingdoms at his *acceſſion*; and even at a *later*

period,

period, viz. in 1766, when his Majeſty's *laſt* appointment of the *ſaid* commiſſioners was made, requiring them to ſtate and examine *all* the public accounts, *four* times, inſtead of *once*, in the *year*; *ſince* which time, it *cannot* be *pretended*, that *any encreaſe* in *that* department, or in the *other* publick occupations of the *ſaid* commiſſioners, *hath ariſen* to *require* ſuch a *new* eſtabliſhment, as that in queſtion. And we think it might imply an *unmerited cenſure* on the eminent perſons who at preſent conſtitute the antient commiſſion, if the *neceſſity* of ſuch a *new* arrangement, were, *now*, for the *firſt* time, to be diſcovered and *admitted*.

2dly. Becauſe it is to be preſumed, if the *old* board had not been deemed by his Majeſty's miniſters to be *fully ſufficient*, that they would not have rendered it *leſs ſo*, by ſuffering it to be *deprived* of one of its members, viz. the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*; who doth *not reſide* in this kingdom, *nor execute any part* of the *duty* of that *office*— And we conceive, if *any* inſufficiency in the old board could *reaſonably* be alledged, in conſequence of the avocations of the other great officers of the law, who compoſe it; that, it *might* and *ought* to be *remedied* by ordering the Chancellor of the Exchequer to *attend*; whereby *inſtead* of loading this country with a *new* expence, the *ſalary* of that great office would circulate *within* this kingdom; whereas now it is expended *abroad*.

3dly. Becauſe the *neceſſity* of this appointment, if *any*, muſt ariſe either from the *arrear* of unpaſſed

accounts, *heretofore* incurred, and which is the only argument we have heard in ſupport of this new eſtabliſhment; or it muſt ariſe from the nature and extent of our accounts reſpecting the *future*. Now, firſt, we conceive, that the new commiſſioners are directed to call before them, *not* ſuch perſons as *have*, *but* ſuch as *ſhall* receive any ſum or ſums by way of impreſt: that is, to act for the *future* and *not* for the *paſt*; and that therefore the *neceſſity* of theſe new commiſſioners *cannot* be maintained on the ground of an *arrear*, which they are *not* directed to examine and *ſettle*. Moreover we think that even if they were to have a retroſpect, it is utterly abſurd to eſtabliſh a *permanent* board for all time *future*, for the *occaſional* purpoſe of ſettling an arrear in time *paſt*; a temporary appointment being ſufficient for ſuch a temporary office, whereby the expence of the publick would ceaſe with the occaſion which produced it. Again, as to our *account in future*, we think it cannot be denied, that *one* board of commiſſioners of accounts would be *ſufficient* to diſcharge the *whole* buſineſs, if *properly conſtituted*—Now, either the *old* board is *ſo* conſtituted, or it is *not*. If it is ſo conſtituted, it is *ſufficient*, and *another* is *unneceſſary*. If it is *not* ſo conſtituted, either it ought to be *corrected*, if *capable* of being rendered ſufficient, or, if *incapable* thereof, it ought to be *aboliſhed* by *due authority*; and *one* board, *properly* regulated and ſufficient, *ſubſtituted* in its room. Whereas the *preſent* meaſure of government is to do *neither*; for, it is to *continue* the *old* board, in its *antient form*, which, if it is *inſufficient*, is *abſurd*; and to

add

add *another* to do *part* of its duty, which is *abſurd*, if it be *not inſufficient*. It propoſes, in a word, *not* that we ſhould have *one* board properly regulated and *ſufficient*, but that we ſhould have *two*, *each* of which ſhould be ſo *contrived* as to be, at leaſt *ſeparately inadequate*; and that, *not* for the purpoſe of the one, being a *check* and controul on the other; but wholly *independent* and *diſtinct*: which can be productive of evil conſequences only, as we apprehend, without one benefit.

4thly. Becauſe we think it to be *inexpedient*, inaſmuch, as *no new expence*, that can be avoided, ought to be incurred, at a period, when, from the *growing* difficulties of the publick, the wiſdom of parliament hath found it neceſſary, both in the ſeſſion of 1769, and in the preſent ſeſſion, to *reduce*, very conſiderably, the ſum, *uſually* expended on the *internal improvement* of the kingdom, and towards the ſupport of its great *charitable foundations*: when, *notwithſtanding* ſuch *retrenchments*, government was obliged to *borrow* in the two *laſt* years 130,000l. in aid of the general revenue—when, the *next* two years ſeemed to threaten a ſtill *greater* encreaſe of national debt, the Commons having deemed it neceſſary to vote, in *this* ſeſſions, a *loan* of 200,000l. in *aid* of the *general* revenue, for the *ordinary* ſervice of the two years enſuing: when his Majeſty's revenue, by decay of trade and credit, is declining:—when, notwithſtanding *this* country is *more* heavily *burthened* in proportion to her *ability* than *Great-Britain*; and notwithſtanding that the *taxes* of this kingdom *exceed* in their

annual amount, the *whole circulating ſpecie* of the nation: yet the *expence* of the publick is *greatly ſuperior* to the *revenue* thereof; even though the *latter* ſhould *riſe again* to *as high* an amount, as it *hath* reached at *any* period heretofore; which, we *cannot promiſe* to ourſelves, at *preſent*, that it will—when, unleſs, *inſtead* of *encreaſing*, we ſhall *diminiſh* the publick *charges*, this kingdom will incur a *larger* debt, in a few years of *profound tranquillity*, than it contracted during the *whole* of the *late war*; in which, this country undertook a *larger* ſhare of expence, than *ever* in had done in *any war before*—and, when the *ſpeech* from the throne *this ſeſſion* of parliament, hath ſtated, ſo *emphatically*, the *neceſſitous* condition of this kingdom, and hath *dictated æconomy*, in ſuch *alarming* terms.

5thly. Becauſe, it appears that, at ſo *late* a period as in the year 1757, the *whole expence* of the publick, in the article of *Commiſſioners of accounts* amounted only to 3601. which expence, ſince that time, principally by the innovation of quarterly, inſtead of annual accounts, hath *encreaſed* to *ſeven* times that ſum, *without any* advantage to the public therefrom, as we apprehend—and which in conſequence of this *new* eſtabliſhment, will at the *loweſt* eſtimate, be *augmented*, upon the whole, in more than a *twenty-fold* proportion:—and that, in a ſeaſon of *publick diſtreſs* and of *accumulating debt*: *Whereas*, in the *firſt* mentioned period, this, nation, having *recently diſcharged* the whole capital of its antecedent *debt*, was *free* from *all* incumbrance

cumbrance whatſoever; and in a proſperous and *riſing* condition: Wherefore we humbly conceive that it would be *more ſeaſonable* and expedient to *reduce* this article of the publick charge, than to *encreaſe* it: and that nothing can be *more prepoſterous* in this light, than the *preſent* propoſition; by which this new board of *inferior* commiſſioners for taking a *very ſmall portion* of the publick accounts will coſt the kingdom on the *moſt moderate* calculation, *above ſixteen* times the ſum, which was paid in 1757, to the antient commiſſioners, for the *whole* accounts of the nation.

6thly. Becauſe, we conceive that as *any two* of the ſaid *five* commiſſioners are authoriſed by theſe letters to exerciſe all the extenſive and ſingular powers veſted thereby in the ſaid commiſſioners, great inconveniencies and *much confuſion* may follow therefrom; and that *contradictory* orders may be iſſued, *each* ſigned by *two* of the ſaid commiſſioners, without *any* apparent *precedence*, or ground of *preference*, in the one order over the other; whereby the perſons required to obey the ſame may be *able to regulate* their conduct, or to *aſcertain which* they are to *regard*.

7thly. Becauſe we conceive if *any* encreaſe of expence in this department were at all expedient, or *admiſſible*, that the public intereſt would require that the ſame ſhould be incurred, rather by a *moderate addition* of profit to the *antient* commiſſioners, than by the *creation* of *new* ones; for *many* weighty reaſons; and *eſpecially* for that by *multiplying*

plying unneceſſary officers, the *undue influence* of the Crown muſt be *extended*—for which purpoſe *alone*, this appointment, ſeems to us, indeed, to have been calculated; whether we conſider that *ſingle miſmanagement* and *Mal-adminiſtration*, which have rendered the arts of *intrigue* and *corruption*, *more* than uſually requiſite, to *counteract* the force of *juſt* and *national indignation*: or whether we conſider the *perſons* appointed to theſe offices, who *inſtead* of being ſelected from amongſt thoſe who have had publick opportunities of teſtifying their *peculiar fitneſs* for, and *experience* in the department of *national accounts*, have been *all* taken, *without* a *ſingle exception*, from amongſt the *repreſentatives of the people*.

8thly. Becauſe we wiſh the *validity* of the letters patent in queſtion to be brought to *trial*, inaſmuch as we apprehend that the ſame are *illegal*, for that the court of *Exchequer* is a court of an *antient juriſdiction* for the purpoſe of hearing and determining all matters of *account and revenue*, with *ſufficient officers and powers* for adjuſting and determining the ſame, and for *recovering* all ſuch *balance* as may appear to be due thereon; in which court all queſtions of *legal doubt* muſt be decided by the *Barons*, who know the law, and all queſtions of *fact* by the conſtitutional tryal by *jury*—and we conceive that the *executive* power cannot at this day conſiſtently with the laws of the land, *appoint any new judicature* nor any perſon or perſons whatſoever, ſave only the antient judges and officers.

officers of the ſaid court, to hear and determine any matter or matters incident to the juriſdiction thereof, or to exerciſe *any* powers which may *interfere* with the ſaid juriſdiction—But the *five new* commiſſioners of accounts appointed by his Majeſty's letter patent, bearing date the 31ſt of October 1771, or any *two* or more of them are authoriſed by ſaid letters—" To call before them once in every year the maſter of the ordnance, the clerks and receivers of fines and caſualties, the treaſurer of the barrack-board or board of works, and every accountant or accountants, whoſe accounts by virtue of any former commiſſion the ſaid commiſſioners or others, exerciſing or occupying their places were required and authoriſed to examime, except the accounts of the vice treaſurers and receiver, or receivers general, and the treaſurer at war or paymaſter general—To call before them all ſuch perſons, who *ſhall* or may from time to time receive any ſum or ſums of money by way of impreſt; either by warrant or order of government for his majeſty's ſervice, to exhibit to the ſaid commiſſioners all ſuch accounts, books, certificates, warrants, bills, and muniments whatſoever, as ſhall touch or concern the charge or *diſcharge* of the ſaid accounts remaining in their hands or cuſtody, or remaining in the hands, cuſtody or poſſeſſion of any of his Majeſty's officers or miniſters within this kingdom, and them and every of them by all ways and means, they poſſibly can, to peruſe, caſt up, try and examine, and upon tryal, examination and peruſal thereof, to make full, perfect, and juſt ac-

counts

counts, or declarations of accounts, containing briefly the ſum and ſubſtance therefore in charge and diſcharge, as hath been heretofore uſed, the ſaid ſeveral accounts to be fairly engroſſed in two parts, and by the ſaid commiſſioners or any two or more of them ſigned and vouched; the one part to remain of record in the court of Exchequer there, and the other part to be delivered to the parties accountable, and to be to them, and every of them, their heirs, executors, and adminiſtrators, againſt the King, his heirs and ſucceſſors, a *ſufficient warrant and diſcharge:* and the ſaid commiſſioners and every of them, are required to have ſpecial regard that all ſuch petitions and demands, as ſhall be by them allowed, have good and *probable* reaſons to maintain and prove the ſame; provided always that the ſaid parts of the ſaid accounts ſo as aforeſaid to be delivered by the ſaid commiſſioners, or any two, or more of them, ſo ſigned and delivered, ſhall not exonerate or diſcharge the ſaid accountants, or any of them, their heirs, executors, or adminiſtrators, of any ſuch debts, as ſhall be, by the ſaid commiſſioners, or any two or more of them, found due, and by the ſaid accountants owing, upon the ſaid accounts; until ſuch time as the ſaid accountants and every of them ſhall firſt take order with the King for payment thereof, either by *inſtallments* or otherwiſe, as to the ſaid commiſſioners or any two or more of them ſhall be thought meet and convenient." Which ſaid powers of *allowing petitions* and *demands*,

mands, and granting *discharges* to accountants, we conceive will amount to a determination of matters incident to the jurisdiction of the said court of Exchequer, and will also essentially interfere with the said jurisdiction, inasmuch as accountants, having obtained such discharges, will not, *according* to the *tenor* of the said *patents*, be obliged to render any account to the said court of Exchequer; but may, *if the provision of the said patent be considered as valid*, plead such discharges, in bar of any account demanded of them before the said court.—We further apprehend that the said new commissioners, constituted with the aforesaid powers, are a *new* judicature; notwithstanding any patents that have heretofore been granted to commissioners of accounts in this kingdom: inasmuch, as all such former patents must, *if legal*, have been founded either on the *statute* of the tenth of Henry the 7th. chap. 1. or in the *common law*, which is *common usage*. Now so far as the said antient patents may have been founded on the said statute, they can be no authority or example for the present patents, which do in no sort pursue that statute; and if in any part they were founded in common usage, the usage must be taken entire; now it has been at all times a part of that usage by such patents to grant the commission for taking the accounts to the Barons of the Exchequer and certain great officers of the law, for the time being, and that *without any tenure*, but as *incident* to their respective *offices*. Whereas the new commissioners are

are granted for a *tenure* during the *king's pleaſure* to perſons unſkilled in the law, altogether independent of and unconnected with the ſaid court of Exchequer, contrary to every appearance of old uſage, as well as to the ſpirit of that excellent ſtatute of the 5th of Richard the II. which enacts, that no baron of the Exchequer, clerk of the pipe, appoſer, clerk of the foreign ſummonſes, *auditors*, or other chief officers of the Exchequer, ſhould be made unleſs he be well learned in the law, or otherwiſe very ſkilful in the courſes and uſage of the Exchequer. We therefore apprehend that the ſaid former patents, if founded in the ſaid ſtatute of Henry VII can be no example of theſe new patents, which are not founded therein; nor can the ſame if founded in uſage, be any precedent of patents which eſſentially differ from the uſage obſerved therein. Neither do we conceive that there is a power in the Crown of deſtroying, dividing, or altering, the antient offices eſtabliſhed by law.

9thly. Becauſe there are in the ſaid court of Exchequer, certain clerks or officers called *auditors of impreſt*, whoſe duty is to take all *foreign* and *impreſted* accounts, and to perfect the ſame; and we conceive that all ſuch matters, touching the ſaid accounts, as are *miniſterial*, may be well and effectually tranſacted by the ſaid officers, and do of right belong to their office—ſo that the inſtitution of new commiſſioners of accounts, ſo far as they are

mini-

miniſterial, is *at leaſt ſuperfluous*; and ſo far, as they are *judicial*, is, as we conceive, *manifeſtly illegal*.

10thly. Becauſe the ſaid new commiſſioners, or *any* two of them are empowered by the ſaid letters patent to give and allow at diſcretion to any perſon or perſons employed in or about the ſaid accounts, or in any thing concerning the ſame, ſuch *ſum* or *ſums* of money, or *other* recompence, as to the ſaid commiſſioners ſhall *ſeem meet* and convenient; and we apprehend that to *delegate* ſuch a *diſcretionary* power over the revenue to *any* perſon whatſoever, is repugnant to the firſt principles of law, and of moſt dangerous example.

11thly. Becauſe we conceive that whatever new inſtitution tends to the "diſquietneſs, miſchief, and delay of the ſubject, and is no advantage to the king, is therefore againſt law."—But this new inſtitution appears to us manifeſtly to tend to the diſquietneſs, miſchief, and delay of the ſubject, inaſmuch as it requires perſons to account before commiſſioners who are *not bound* by any *oath* to adminiſter *juſtice* impartially, or according to law ——neither have they any *certain rules* of law or *approved uſage* by which to govern their proceedings; neither is their court to be *open* at *all times* for receiving accounts and regularly diſpatching the ſame, they being only authoriſed to take accounts once in every year—and the ſaid inſtitution

appears

appears to us on the other hand to contribute in no ſort to the advantage of the king; but on the contrary, to the manifeſt *injury* of his *revenue*, inaſmuch as no power is given to the ſaid commiſſioners to examine any accountant upon *oath*; neither, as we conceive, is there, or could there be any power granted to them by the ſaid patent to *enforce* the *appearance* of any *accountants*, or *others*, nor to examine any perſon *not parties* to the ſaid accounts, nor to *puniſh* for any *forged* receipts, or other *frauds*, nor in any wiſe to *compel payment* of any balance that may appear to be due; and alſo, inaſmuch as the ſaid commiſſioners are authoriſed at their pleaſure to permit accountants to *diſcharge* their *balances* by *inſtallments*, whereas by the court of *Exchequer* according to the oaths of the barons and the *old law* of the land, "None of the King's debts were to be put in reſpite, or *payment* thereof allowed to be *poſtponed*, where the ſame might be goodly levied."——From all which we draw this general concluſion: "That "this novel courſe, tendeth to the diſquietneſs, miſchief, and delay of the ſubject; is no advantage to the king, and therefore is againſt law and ought not to be allowed."

12thly. Becauſe the appointment of the ſaid commiſſioners doth under the general words of the receivers of the King's fines and caſualties, ſeem to draw all ſheriffs from the ſaid court of Exchequer, to account before the ſaid commiſſioners: whereas the

the ſaid ſheriffs are bound by their *oath*, their office, and the law of the land, to account in the Exchequer; and the ſubjecting them to any other juriſdiction would be a manifeſt grievance to them and the publick.

13thly. Becauſe, we conceive it of the moſt dangerous tendency to Great-Britain as well as to this kingdom, that the ſyſtem of juriſprudence and the rights and powers of the great courts of juſtice, which are the ſame in both countries, ſhould be violated in either—For that in the preſervation thereof alone our liberties can be ſecure; as by every encroachment thereon, in former times, the publick freedom hath been brought to the brink of ruin, and the pillars of the conſtitution ſhaken to their foundation.

LEINSTER,	SYDNEY,
WESTMEATH,	LONGFORD,
SHANNON,	KNAPTON,
LANESBOROUGH,	POWERSCOURT,
LOWTH,	BELLAMONT,
MOIRA,	MORNINGTON,
MOUNTCASHELL,	WANDESFORD,
CHARLEMONT,	MOUNTMORRES,
LISLE,	MOLESWORTH,
BALTINGLASS.	

APPENDIX.

NUMBER V.

Monday, Nov. 23, 1772.

At a Poſt-Hall of the Maſter, Wardens, and Brethren of the Corporation of Sheermen and Dyers, purſuant to public notice, the following Reſolutions were unanimouſly agreed to:

RESOLVED, that the ſpurious Addreſs, or Petition, advertiſed in Hoey's Dublin Mercury of Saturday laſt, and ſaid to be preſented to George Lord Viſcount Townſhend, Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of Ireland, by the journeymen weavers of the worſted and woollen branches, was entirely unknown to, and is highly diſapproved of, by this corporation.

Reſolved, that the two hundred pounds given by his Excellency, to be diſtributed among the poor manufacturers, was intended as a *bribe* to obtain addreſſes of approbation from the two corporations, of Weavers, and Sheermen and Dyers, for his Excellency's paſt conduct as Chief Governor of Ireland.

Reſolved, that it appears to this corporation that the two hundred pounds ſo given was at the requeſt, and by the influence of, ſome perſon or perſons,

perſons, who are not well-wiſhers of, or attached to, the Proteſtant intereſt of Ireland.

Reſolved, that it is the requeſt and deſire of this corporation, that the maſter of the weavers do immediately return to his Excellency the ſaid two hundred pounds; and, at the ſame time, do let his Excellency know, that if he really wiſhes that ſum to be diſtributed, he will pleaſe to put it for that purpoſe into the hands of ſome of the people *(if any there be)* who have approved of his Excellency's conduct as Chief Governor of Ireland.

Reſolved, that theſe reſolutions be printed in the publick News-papers of this city.

JAMES YEATES, Maſter.
HAMILTON WEST, } Wardens.
ROBERT BEASLY, }

Monday the 23d of November, 1772.

BY the Maſter and Wardens of the corporation of Weavers, at their Hall aſſembled, purſuant to publick notice.

The Maſter of the corporation laid before the body, a letter in the words and figures following:

SIR,

APPENDIX.

SIR,

His Excellency my Lord Lieutenant desires the favour of seeing you with your Wardens, Numbers, and Clerk, at the Castle, to-morrow morning, at eleven o'clock.

I am, Sir, your most obedient,
humble servant,

Thursday, Nov. 19, 1772. THOS. WAITE.

Mr. John Wiseheart, Master of the Corporation of Weavers, Corn-market.

And also, a bank note of 200l. given to him by the Lord Lieutenant.

Resolved unanimously, that it is the opinion of this corporation, that from the past conduct of his Excellency George Lord Viscount Townshend, Lord Lieutenant, General and General Governor of Ireland, in repeatedly refusing admission to deputations from this body, particularly when applied to for his assistance to relieve the poor in a time of real distress and public calamity; and also, from the manner in which the present donation of two hundred pounds appears to have been procured; that this corporation cannot receive or assist in the distribution thereof, although it would at all times give this corporation the greatest pleasure, on every proper occasion, to be instrumental in relieving

the neceſſities of the poor; and, they do hereby direct the ſaid ſum to be *returned* to his Excellency.

Reſolved, that the above be publiſhed in the public papers.

Signed by Order,
JOHN GELLING, Clerk, Guild.

In conſequence of the above reſolutions of both corporations, deputations from them went immediately from the Weaver's Hall to the Caſtle, and returned the bank note of 200l. to Mr. Waite, with a copy of their reſolutions, which they requeſted might be given to the Lord Lieutenant.

NUMBER VI.

Key to the Letters from Philadelphus.

SANCHO	Lord T————d.
Caledon	Lord F——k C——l.
Col. Promiſe	Right Hon. J—n P——y.
Rufinus	Rt. Hon. J—n H—y H—.
Pedro Pezzio	Dr. L——s.

Key

APPENDIX.

Key to the Hiſtory of Barataria.

SANCHO Goreannelli	Lord T———d.
	Lord A———y.
Don Franciſco Andrea del Bumperoſo	Right Hon. F—s A——s.
Don Georgio Buticartny	Sir G——e M———y.
Don Antonio	Right Hon. A—y M——e.
Don John Alnagero	Rt. H. J—n H—y H-—n.
Don Philip	Rt. H. P—p T———l.
Count Loftonſo	L. L—s, now E. of E—y.
Don John	Rt. Hon. J—n P———y.
Don Helena	R—t H———n, Eſq.
Donna Dorothea del Monroſo	Miſs M———o.
Don Godfredo Lilly	G——y L——ll, Eſq.
The Duke Fitzroyola	Duke of G———n.
Cardinal Lapidaro	The late Primate S——e.
The Biſhop of Toledo	Dr. J——t B——e late Biſhop of C—k.
Don Edwardo Swanzero	E——d S———n, Eſq.
Don Alexandro Cuningambo del Tweedalero	Surgeon C———m.
Donna Lavinia	Lady St. L——.
Don Ricardo	R——d P———r, Eſq.

APPENDIX.

BARATARIANA.

THIS book has always possessed peculiar interest for historic students of the period to which it refers; and several communications have appeared from time to time in *Notes and Queries* touching it. In reply to an inquiry,* the late Right Hon. J. Wilson Croker promised to contribute particulars as to the writers of "Barataria na,"† but failed to do so, although he lived for several years subsequently.‡ "That promise not having been fulfilled," observed a writer, "permit me to ask from some of your Irish correspondents materials for a history of this very curious volume;"§ and ABHBA expressed a hope that "Mr Fitzpatrick would be induced to furnish us with a key to the characters which figure in the book."‖ In accordance with these suggestions, we gathered from a variety of sound sources, well authenticated, though perhaps not important details.

Sir Hercules Langrishe, Mr Grattan, (then a young barrister not in Parliament,) and Mr Flood, were, according to the "Memoirs of Flood," (p. 79,) the principal writers of "Barataria na." In "Grattan's Life" (vol. i., p. 185) there is an account of a visit to Sir Hercules in 1810; and the octogenarian is found repeating with enthusiasm some of his flash passages in "Barataria na." The contributions of Sir Hercules to this bundle of political pasquinades are noticed in Grattan's elegy on the death of the patriot baronet, (*vide* vol. i., p. 188.) The late Hon. Major Stan-

* First Series, vol. x., p. 185. † *Ibid.*, vol. x., p. 352.
‡ *Ibid.* § Second Series, vol. viii., p. 52. ‖ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

hope informed us that Mr St George, a connexion of his, held the very voluminous papers of Sir H. Langrishe, and not the present baronet. They threw, he said, great light on the political history of the time, and he promised to give us access to them if desired. The articles written by Grattan were, as his son informs us, (vol. i., p. 185,)—"Posthumous," "Pericles," and the dedication of "Baratariana." He read them to his friends, and they were struck by his description of Lord Chatham. Gilbert's "Dublin" (vol. i., p. 294) tells us, what the "Life of Flood" does not, that the articles signed "Syndercombe" were from Flood's pen. The volume of "Public Characters for 1806," in noticing William Doyle, K.C., and Master in Chancery, remarks (p. 64) that he was "universally admired for his brilliant wit," and that "he contributed largely to 'Baratariana.'"

To the second edition of the book, published in 1773, there is appended the following so-called key; but the difficulty is to recognise, at this distance of time, the names which have been initialed, and to supply them:—

1. Sancho, ...	Lord T——d.
2. Goreannelli, ...	Lord A——y.
3. Don Francisco Andrea del Bumperoso, ...	Rt. Hon. F——s A——s.
4. Don Georgio Buticarny, . .	Sir G——e M——y.
5. Don Antonio, ...	Rt. Hon. A——y M——e.
6. Don John Alnagero, . . .	Rt. Hon. J—n H——y H——n.
7. Don Philip, ...	Rt. Hon. P——p T——l.
8. Count Loftonso, ...	L. L——s, now E. of E——y.
9. Don John, ...	Rt. Hon. J——n P——y.
10. Don Helena, ...	R——t H——n, Esq.
11. Donna Dorothea del Monroso, ...	Miss M——o.
12. Don Godfredo Lily, . . .	G——y L——ll, Esq.
13. The Duke Fitzroyola, . .	Duke of G——n.
14. Cardinal Lapidaro, . . .	The late Prim. S——e.
15. The Bishop of Toledo, . .	Dr J——t B——e, late Bishop of C——k.
16. Don Edwardo Swanzero, .	E——d S——n, Esq.
17. Don Alexandro Cuningambo del Tweedalero, . . .	Surgeon C——m.
18. Donna Lavinia, ...	Lady St L——r.
19. Don Ricardo, ...	R——d P——r, Esq.

The first named is George Viscount Townshend, who

became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, October 14, 1767, and continued in the Government, until succeeded by Simon, Earl of Harcourt, Nov. 30, 1772.

2. Lord Annaly, Lord Chief-Justice of the King's Bench in Ireland. As John Gore he represented Jamestown in Parliament for several years; d. April 3, 1783. A notice of Lord Annaly may be found in the *Annual Register for* 1784, p. 220.

3. The Right Hon. Francis Andrews. He succeeded Dr Baldwin as Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, in 1758. Andrews had previously represented Dublin in Parliament· d. 1774.*

4. Sir George Macartney, Knight,† b. 1737; Envoy Extraordinary to the Empress of Russia, 1764, and Plenipotentiary, 1767; knighted, October 1764. In July 1768, he was elected for the burgh of Armagh. In 1769 he became secretary to Lord Townshend, Viceroy of Ireland. In 1776 Sir George Macartney was raised to the peerage. He married the daughter of Lord Bute—hence the nickname *Buticarny.*

5. The Right Hon. Anthony Malone. For upwards of half a century an ornament to the Irish Bar; d. May 8, 1776. For a long account of him see Hardy's "Life of Charlemont," (vol. i., pp. 133–9;) Taylor's "Hist. of the Univer. of Dublin," (pp. 395–6;) and Grattan's "Memoirs," *passim.*‡

6. Right Hon. John Hely Hutchinson. In the "Directory" of the day he is styled "Prime Serjeant and Alnager of Ireland, Kildare St." He subsequently became Secretary of State and Keeper of the Privy Seal. For a long account of Hutchinson, see Hardy's "Charlemont," (i., 141; ii., 185.) Having obtained a peerage for his wife, he became ancestor of the Lords Donoughmore.§ Hutchinson died Sept. 10, 1793.

* Taylor's Hist. of the Univer. of Dublin, pp. 251–2; Wilson's Dublin Direc., (1770,) p. 41.

† *Vide* List of Privy Councillors, Dublin Direc., (1770,) p. 41.

‡ In Wilson's Directory for 1770, Malone is styled "King's First Counsel at Law, Sackville Street."

§ Burke's Peerage, (1848,) p. 315. For an account of his regime as Provost of Trin. Coll., see Taylor's Hist. of the Univer. of Dublin, p. 253.

7. Right Hon. Philip Tisdall, P.C., Attorney-General. He represented the University of Dublin in Parliament from 1739 until his death in 1777. For a full account and character of Tisdall, see Hardy's "Charlemont," (i., 152–6.) In the Directory of 1770 he is styled "Prin. Secre. of State, and Judge of the Prerogative Court, Leinster Street."

8. The Hon. Henry Loftus succeeded his nephew Nicholas as fourth Viscount Loftus;* b. November 11, 1709; advanced to the earldom of Ely, December 5, 1771.†

9. Right Hon. John Ponsonby, son of Lord Bessborough, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons; b. 1713; d. Dec. 12, 1789.‡

10. "Robert Hellen, K.C., and Counsel to the Commissioners, Great Cuffe Street; called to the bar Hilary Term, 1755."§ On May 4, 1778, he became Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas;‖ d. July 23, 1792.¶

11. A Miss Munro was said to have been mixed up with some of the political intrigues which characterised the Townshend and other administrations. "Dolly Monro" is traditionally described as a woman of surpassing beauty and powers of fascination. She was quite a Duchess of Gordon in the political circles of her time.

12. "Godfrey Lill, Esq., Solicitor-General, Merrion Square, M——, 1743."** On Dec. 15, 1774, he became Justice of the Common Pleas.†† Died Sept. 24, 1782.‡‡

13. Augustus Henry, third Duke of Grafton, b. 1735, filled the offices of Secretary of State and First Lord of

* His ancestor, A. Loft-House, accompanied Lord Sussex to Ireland. Various family links subsequently united the Loftuses to the house of *Townshend*. General Loftus married, 1790, Lady E. Townshend, only daughter of Marquis Townshend. Her daughter Charlotte married Lord Vere Townshend.

† Burke's Peerage, p. 371, (1848.)

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 93; Hardy's Charlemont, i., pp. 184, 201, 293.

§ Wilson's Dublin Directories.

‖ Smyth's Law Officers of Ireland, p. 254.

¶ *Gent. Mag.*, 1793, p. 769.

** Wilson's Dublin Directories.

†† Smyth's Law Officers of Ireland, p. 253.

‡‡ Annual Register for 1783, p. 239.

the Treasury in 1765 and 1766, and that of Lord Privy Seal in 1771.

14. Primate Stone. He was the great political rival of Lord Shannon. Death closed the eyes of both within nine days of each other, in Dec. 1764.*

15. Dr Jemmet Browne, consecrated Bishop of Cork, 1743; promoted to Elphin, 1772.†

16. Edward B. Swan, Esq., Surveyor-General of the Revenue.‡ He was the father of the famous Major Swan, who arrested the thirteen delegates of the United Irishmen at Oliver Bond's in 1798, (Plowden's "Hist. Ireland," ii. 424,) and who afterwards assisted in the capture of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. (?) ["Castlereagh Correspondence," vol. i., 463.]

17. "Surgeon Alexander Cunningham, Eustace Street," figures in the list of surgeons at p. 98 of Wilson's Dublin Directory for 1770.

18. Lady St. Leger. R. St Leger (nephew of Hughes Viscount Doneraile, whose title became extinct in 1767) represented Doneraile from 1749 to 1776, when his Majesty pleased to create him Baron Doneraile as a reward for parliamentary services. He married Miss Mary Barry. She died March 3, 1778.§ This is probably the party referred to.

19. Richard Power, K.C. In the Directory of 1774, we find him styled "Third Baron of the Exchequer, and Usher and Accountant-General of the Court of Chancery, Kildare Street, Hilary, 1757." Mr Daunt, in his "Recollections of O'Connell," (ii. 145,) narrates an extraordinary anecdote of O'Connell's in reference to Baron Power, who, having failed to take Lord Chancellor Clare's life with a loaded pistol, proceeded to Irishtown to commit suicide by drowning. It was remarked as curious that in going

* Dublin Directory, 1769, p. 42; Hardy's Charlemont, vol. *i passim.*

† Wilson's Dublin Direc., 1774, p. 52.

‡ Dublin Direc., 1774, [Com. Rev.,] p. 73. The Viceroy, at p. 228 of Barataria na, is made to speak of "his trusty friends Swan and Waller." In the Directory for 1774, "George Waller, Clerk of the Minutes in Excise," is mentioned.

§ Archdall's Lodge's Peerage, vol. v., p. 123.

off to drown himself, he used an umbrella as the day was wet. Baron Power was a convicted peculator.

The *Anthologia Hibernica* for February 1794, p. 154, details the particulars of Baron Power's death. Besides his judicial office, he was usher to the Court of Chancery, and large sums were frequently deposited in his hands for the security of suitors. The Baron having pocketed £3000 in the Chandos suit, Lord Chancellor Clare was appealed to, who ordered the Baron to appear in court and answer for his conduct. The Judge hesitated, declaring that he held a seat on the same bench with the Chancellor in the Court of Exchequer Chamber. Lord Clare issued his command in a still more peremptory tone; and the tragedy detailed by Mr O'Connell was the result. Sir Jonah Barrington's elaborately embellished account of this transaction is most inaccurate. He suppresses all allusion to the embezzlements—of which, by the way, Barrington was himself convicted as a judge*—and merely says that Lord Clare teased Power to madness, because the Baron was arrogant himself, and never would succumb to the arrogance of Fitzgibbon, to whom in law he was superior. Both accounts, however, agree in saying that Power was immensely rich.

TOPING SEVENTY YEARS AGO.

It did not need the example of the Duke of Rutland to make hard drinking the fashion in Ireland. The anecdote, "Had you any assistance in drinking this dozen of wine?" "Yes, I had the assistance of a bottle of brandy," gives an idea of the extent to which the practice reached. Few songs were sung save those in praise of wine and women. Judge Day's brother, Archdeacon Day, wrote a popular song called "One Bottle More." But Baron Dawson of the Exchequer threw him into the shade, and wrote a famous song in eight stanzas, beginning :—

* Personal Sketches, vol. i., pp. 457–9. See notice of Barrington further on.

"Ye good fellows all,
Who love to be told where there 's claret good store,
Attend to the call of one who 's ne'er frighted,
But greatly delighted with six bottles more!

"Be sure you don't pass the good house Monyglass,
Which the jolly red god so peculiarly owns.
'Twill well suit your humour,
For pray what would you more,
Than mirth with good claret and bumpers, Squire Jones?"

Curran sung :—

"My boys, be chaste till you 're tempted;
While sober be wise and discreet;
And humble your bodies with fasting,
Whene'er you 've got nothing to eat."

"It was an almost invariable habit at convivial meetings," observes an informant, "to lock the door lest any friend should depart. The window was then opened, and the key flung into the lawn, where it could not be again found without much difficulty. An Irish piper was stationed behind the door, where he jerked forth planxty after planxty as the toasts progressed. A certain baronet used to knock the shanks off each guest's glass, to necessitate draining it to the bottom before he could lay it down again. Gallons of buttered claret were drunk, and morning found the convivialists lying under the table in heaps of bodily and mental imbecility."

The late Dr Henry Fulton informed us that he heard from Mr Dawson, one of the Volunteer Convention of 1782, and afterwards Chairman of Armagh, the two following anecdotes, illustrative of Irish conviviality in the last century :—

Sir William Johnson and his friend Dawson were invited out to dine. Some time after dinner Sir William came to him and said: "Dawson, am I very drunk?" "No," said the other; "why so?" "Because," said the baronet, "I can't find the door." It would have been hard for him, for the host had a mock bookcase which moved on a spring, and when required closed up the entrance. After making another trial, Sir William gave it up, and quietly resumed his seat. Dawson escaped out of a window, got up-stairs to a sleeping apartment, and knowing that all the party

would remain for the night, bolted the door and barricaded it with all the furniture he could remove. Next morning he found two of the gentlemen in bed with him, who had effected an entrance through a panel of the door.

No gentleman thought of paying his debts, and the extensive house of Aldridge, Adair, and Butler, wine merchants in Dublin, sent a clerk to Connaught to collect money due to the firm. The clerk returned, protesting that he was half dead with *feasting*, but could get no money. Robin Adair then personally went down, and arrived at the house of his principal debtor just in time for dinner, and found a large party assembled. In the course of the evening the following was composed and sung :—

"Welcome to Foxhall, sweet Robin Adair.
How does Tom Butler do,
And John Aldridge, too ?
Why did they not come with you,
Sweet Robin Adair ?"

It is almost needless to add that he, too, returned without the debt.

To compensate for bad debts, a large margin for profit was fixed by the Dublin wine merchants of that day.

"Claret," writes Barrington, "was at that time about £18 the hogshead, if sold for ready rhino ; if on credit, the law, before payment, generally mounted it to £200, besides bribing the sub-sheriff to make his return, and swear that Squire . . . . had 'neither *body* nor *goods*.' It is a remarkable fact, that formerly scarce a hogshead of claret crossed the bridge of Banagher for a country gentleman, without being followed within two years by an attorney, a sheriff's officer, and a *receiver of all his rents*, who generally carried back securities for £500." In the *Irish Quarterly Review*, vol. ii., p. 331, is quoted a French author's description of Holybrook, county Wicklow, the seat of Robin Adair, "*Si famaux dans nombre des chansons.*" He was probably the head of the wine firm referred to by Dr Fulton. Another Adair, equally noted for bacchanalian powers, lived at Kilternan.

"Were I possess'd of all the chink
That was conquer'd by Cortez, Hernan,
I'd part with it all for one good drink
With Johnny Adair of Kilternan.

"The soldiers may drink to their Cumberland brave,
The sailors may drink to their Vernon,
Whilst all merry mortals true happiness have
With Johnny Adair of Kilternan."

Owen Bray, of Loughlinstown, also figures in more than one song:—

"Were ye full of complaints from the crown to the toe,
A visit to Owen's will cure you of woe;
A buck of such spirits ye never did know,
For let what will happen, they're always in flow;
When he touched up *Ballen a Mona*, oro,
The joy of that fellow for me."

Drinking clubs fanned the flame of political agitation and sectarian bitterness then so rife. One of these pandemoniums stood in Werburgh Street, where many a man with, as a song of the day has it,

"a goodly estate,
And would to the Lord it was ten times as great,"

drank himself to delirium, death, and beggary. The spirit of the times is shown in one of the club, who, having pitched a basin of filthy fluid from the window, which was hailed by a shriek below, exclaimed, "If you are a Protestant, I beg your pardon respectfully; but if you're a Papist (*hic*,) take it and bad luck to you!"*

The County Kildare was not second to Wicklow or Dublin in convivial indulgence. Some years ago, as we stood among the ruins of Clonshambo House, a song commemorative of its former occupant was chanted:—

"'Twas past one o'clock when Andrew got up,
His eyes were as red as a flambeau;
Derry down, my brave boys, let us sleep until eve,
Cried Andrew Fitz-Gerald of Clonshambo."

The windows of old Clonshambo House looked into a churchyard, which ought, one would think, to have preached a more salutary homily to the convivialists than the event seems to have proved. Adjoining it is a crumbling wall glassed, and displaying many a sturdy old neck with the cork still lodged in it.

The judges of the land, vulgarly regarded as almost infallible, were no better than their neighbours, and the

* Tradition communicated by F. T. P——, Esq.

phrase, "as sober as a judge," must for a time have fallen into disuse. Baron Monckton, being often *vino deditus*, as we are assured by Barrington, usually described the segment of a circle in making his way to the seat of justice. Judge Boyd, whose face, we are told, resembled "a scarlet pincushion well studded," possessed a similar weakness; and a newspaper, in praising his humanity, said that when passing sentence of death, it was observable that "he seldom failed to have *a drop* in his eye." Of the first judge named it might be said, as of the Geraldines, *Ipsis Hibernis Hiberniores*, for Baron Monckton was imported from the English Bar.

John Egan, the chairman of Kilmainham, drank hard; and some clients, anxious to secure his professional services, made a stipulation with him, that no wine was to be drunk previous to the defence. Egan agreed, but casuistically evaded the engagement, by eating large quantities of bread soaked in wine.

Hard drinking continued fashionable in Ireland within the last forty years. A late eminent polemic habitually drank, without ill effects, a dozen glasses of whisky toddy at a sitting. Bushe, on being introduced to the late Con. Leyne of the Irish Bar, asked "Are you any relation to Con of the Hundred Battles?" "This is Con of the Hundred Bottles," interposed Lord Plunket.

A well-known person, named Led——ge, who lived at Bluebell, having met a favourite boon companion, was induced by him to partake of some refreshment at an inn, where he speedily consumed sixteen tumblers of punch. He was rising to leave, when the friend suggested that he should "make up the twenty." "The parish priest is to dine with me," replied Led——ge, "and I should not wish him to see the sign of liquor on me."

HOW LORD BUCKINGHAM PUNISHED JEPHSON AND PURCHASED JEBB.

Magee's lampoons on the Sham Squire's patron, the Marquis of Buckingham, were met by retorts in the same

vein. The chief writer of these retaliative epigrams was Robert Jephson, Master of the Horse at Dublin Castle. Lord Cloncurry, in his "Personal Recollections," obscrves, —"He lived at the Black Rock, in a house which still remains, nearly opposite Maretimo, and was, for a considerable period, the salaried poet laureate of the viceregal court. He lost place and pension by an untimely exercise of his wit, when dining one day at my father's house. The dinner was given to the Lord-Lieutenant, the Marquis of Buckingham, who happened to observe, in an unlucky mirror, the reflection of Jephson in the act of mimicking himself. He immediately discharged him from the laureateship."

Public writers were corrupted without stint during the administration of Lord Buckingham. By far the ablest man in Ireland, at that day, was Dr Frederick Jebb, the Irish Junius. Under the pseudonym of Guatimozin, he published powerful letters in sustainment of his country's cause. The viceroy, writing to Lord North, says—"As the press was exceedingly violent at that time, and had greater effect in inflaming the minds of the people, it was recommended to me as a measure of absolute necessity, by some means, if possible, to check its spirit. On this a negotiation was opened with Dr Jebb, who was then chief of the political writers, and he agreed, upon the terms of my recommending him for a pension of £300 a year, to give his assistance to Government, and since that time he has been very useful, as well by suppressing inflammatory publications as by writing and other services, which he promises to continue to the extent of his power."* After the death of Dr Jebb the pension was continued to his children.

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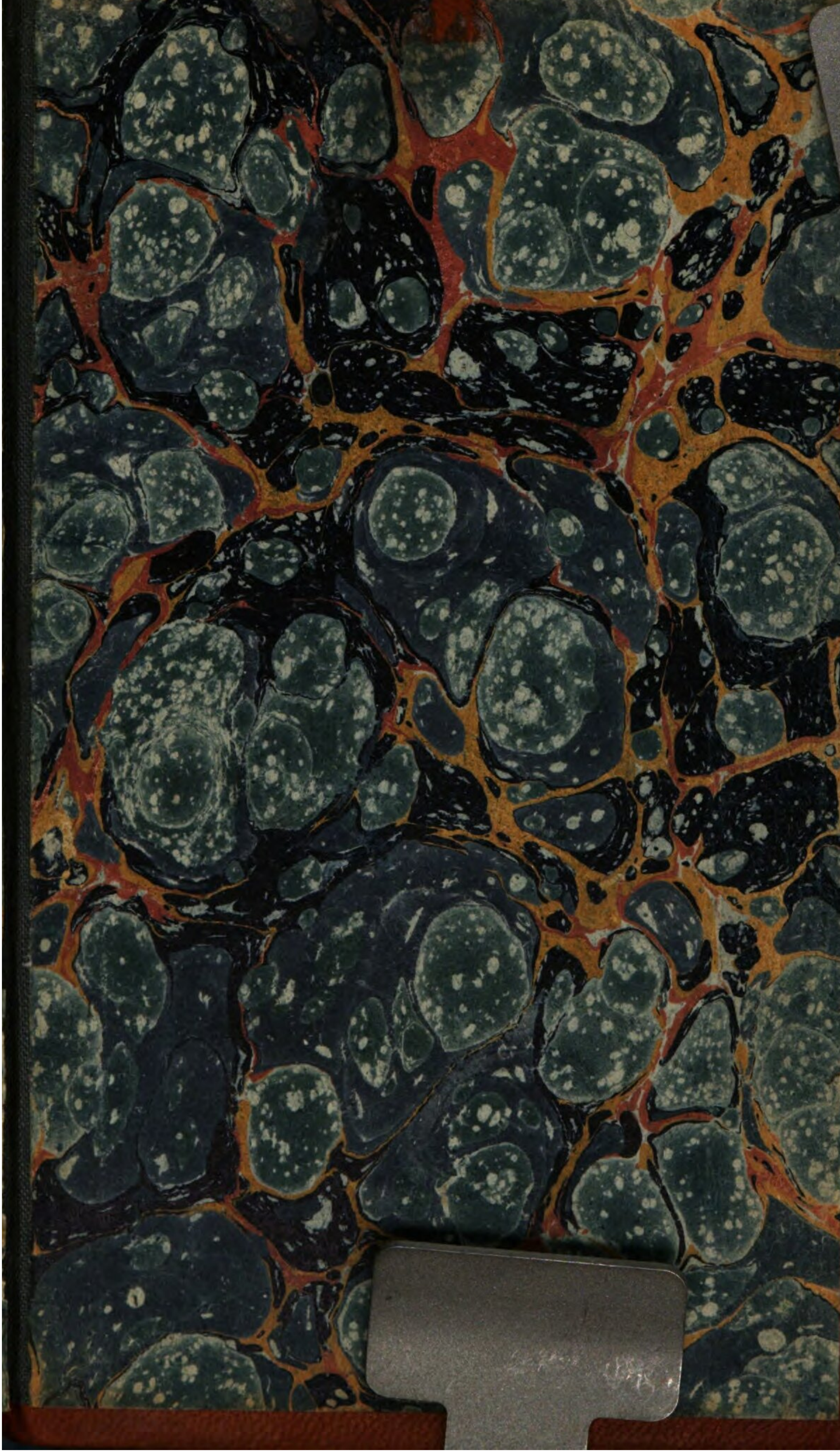

BSB Bayerische StaatsBibliothek
MDZ Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum Digitale Bibliothek

Baratariana A select collection of fugitive political pieces, publ. during the administration of Lord Townshend in Ireland

Dublin 1777

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